A DISCOURSE OF THE Nationall Excellencies OF ENGLAND.

By *Richard Hawkins.*

Cic. de Offic. Lib. 1.

Chari sunt parentes, chari liberi, propinqui, familiares: sed omnes omnium charitates una Patria complexa est.

LONDON,
Printed by *Tho. Newcomb*, for *Henry Fletcher* at the Three Gilt-Cups in the New-Buildings, near the West-End of St. *Pauls*. 1658.

A DISCOURSE OF THE Nationall Excellencies OF ENGLAND.

By Richard Hawkins.

Cic. de Offic. Lib. 1.

Chari sunt parentes, chari liberi, propinqui, familiares: sed omnes omnium charitates una Patria complexa est.

LONDON,
Printed by Tho. Newcomb, for Henry Fletcher at the Three Gilt-Cups in the New-Buildings, near the West-End of St. Pauls. 1658.

942
H31d

THE PREFACE.

IN the ensuing Discourse, I have endeavoured to speak the just Praises of our Nation, to assert and vindicate the Honour thereof, and to sum up its Excellencies.

Praises, when the subject of them is great and worthy; when they concern a whole Nation, and that a noble one; when they respect the Valor, the Strength, the Genius, the Law, and the Religion of the English, cannot but be an ingenuous Imployment. Let others study the Panegyricks of Princes, and hug themselves in their brave choice, whilst I perswade my self, this Attempt may be as productive of Good, and freer from Flattery. That man indeed is happy, that

836344

hath the opportunity to do well to the Commonwealth, yet he is not unhappy that speaks well of it. Thus *Salust*: *Pulchrum est bene facere Reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum.* Praises have always been esteemed the most successful Methods on good Natures, to render them vertuous; but publick and National Elogies being the more excellent, the more lasting, the more certain, and just, added to that natural love that is in all men to their Country, cannot but put them (if their souls be not as narrow, and as straitned, as their skins) on a profitable emulation, who shall become best, and most deserving of such praises, and inflame them with worthy thoughts, and gallant resolutions, for the good and for the honour of their Country. What generous disposition that hears his Country extolled for this or that excellent quality, will endure to be excluded out of the commendation? And thus whilst men read of the warlikeness and justice of their Nation, they are carried away with a praise-worthy ambition of being such, and insensibly (whilst they admire these qualities) perceive them to over-spread their minds, and to take possession of

their souls. Thus also the famous Exploits of former times lively set out, rouse men from their sloth, forcing them, as the Actions of *Miltiades* and *Alexander* did *Themistocles* and *J. Cæsar*, to fall on the imitation of them; and thereby they often happen with the two last to excel those, whom before they did emulate; according to that notable sentence of *Strada*, *Qui se ad magnorum nominum imitationem componat, imitandus etiam atque inter magna nomina futurus.*

The Subject is not onely worthy, but also new. Others indeed occasionally and in Orations have said enough in commendation of their Nation, to justifie such an Attempt, but none have made an entire Treatise thereon, which did not a little encourage me to publish this Discourse. Thus *Calisthenes* made an Oration in praise of the Macedonian Nation, with much applause. And our Sir *Walter Rawleigh* in his learned History of the World, fears not often to leave his matter, and make Parerga's for the honor and vindication of *England*. And I have heard some assign this quality and zeal of his, as a more particular cause of their esteem of

that worthy Knight. Why may I not then hope for the pardon of those errors that have committed in so pleasing a design, and expect to escape the severity of censure? which yet I am prepared for. For if it be unjust, I shall glory in it, as one of the noblest rewards of well-doing; and if just, yet shall I not at all be troubled, as receiving thereby that good office, which I could not hitherto obtain from my best friends.

And what better time could have been taken, to set out the praises of our Nation, then this active Age, which hath inspired men with more sprightly thoughts, introduced the noble Genius of War, warmed the very blood of Age it self, and is likely to be made famous by the exploits of our Nation; which having again got footing on the other side of the Water, may like that little cloud in *Ahab* time, which arose OUT OF THE SEA, over-spread the Heavens, and once more largely stretch out its bounds on the very Continent?

But that I may not seem to have lost my self amidst those Excellencies, which I have so long insisted on, I shall acknowledge that our Nation (as all o-

ther humane bodies) hath its mixture of imperfection. In this necessary confession (for it will ever be harsh to an ingenuous ear, not to hear of some allay in the praise of humane things, how glorious soever) I do not at all fall from my Argument, but rather prosecute it the more closely; imitating the Painter, who when he hath laid the exactest lines of a lovely face, and drawn from his full fancy, the sweetest Features, and thereto added the utmost perfections which Art can compass, thinks yet he hath not done well, unless he sets it off with a Mole, or a Wart, which (though Natures errors) men admire as the choicest Beauties of a taking Face. *England* is not so deformed, as to be without blemishes; nor so monstrously wicked, as to have no Vices, or Imperfections, which are connatural to all things that are humane, and which, like shadows and darker colours, make those excellencies by which they are placed, to shine with the clearer brightness, and the more piercing radiancy.

Nor have I so much minded the praise of *England*, as not to have chiefly regarded Truth. I have therefore thought

it

it better to raise a mean Structure to the honor of our Country, on the firm Pillars of Truth, that so it may be more sure and lasting, then to erect a more splendid one, on false and rotten foundations, to be ruined by every blast. And yet though I have so regarded Truth, I deny not but that I may have erred; But beleeve me, I have not at any time wilfully gone out of the way of Truth.

Ovid. *Nec scelus invenies; Quid enim scelus error habebat?*

Next to Truth, I have studied Moderation. Grant to me but the liberty and freedom, that befits an ingenuous man, and (I hope) my Reader shall not finde me (when I speak of the Times, or on any other occasion) basely to fawn on this Party, or bark at that. My subject doth not at all engage me in harsh passages, or unhandsom reflections; and it were madness to forsake the Argument, to distaste and be hated. I have indeed preferred ours before other Nations, when with reason

reaſon I could do it: But I have not beſtowed reproachful terms on them, or by a daſh of my pen ſtruck at the honour of a whole Country, but kept up their dignity, and done them as much right as could be expected on ſuch an occaſion. For though I am an Engliſhman, yet am I withal a Citizen of the World. Of which relation I ſhould ſhew my ſelf unworthy, ſhould I wholy neglect it, to indulge a more particular one.

Reader, I expoſe this Diſcourſe to the publick view, not led by the importunity of Friends (the common Midwife of Books) but by an ambition that would never have given me reſt, till at leaſt I had attempted ſomething that might be ſerviceable to my Country. Nor are my hopes ſmall, that this Diſcourſe (how weakly ſoever performed by me) may do ſome good: For whilſt I enumerate to my Reader ſo many bleſſings, prerogatives and advantages which the goodneſs of God hath beſtowed on *England*, he cannot but return thanks to the bountiful Giver: And ſo Providence may make me an inſtrument in contri-

contributing to so great a Work; and then this, what greater benefit or more glorious reward, can I possibly either desire or attain for my pains and labours herein?

R. H.

THE

THE METHOD OF THE DISCOURSE

HAving My Method may be the more perspicuous, I will in a few words, and (as it were) at one view present it before the Reader.

The Discourse divides it self into two Parts: The first wholly treats of War; The second is of a more mixt nature.

In the first Part (1) *I speak of the British Courage and Wars. Then* (2) *of the Original of the English, and their dispossessing the Britains of the best part of this Isle.* (3) *I insist on the*

The Figures distinguish the Chapters.

Danish

Danish Invasion, (4) the Norman Conquest, and put them amongst the Evidences of the English Valour. Afterwards, because our Nation hath had Wars sometimes with one people, sometimes with another, and often with several at the same time, (altering my Method) I have (that I might be the more clear) summed up the Events of Wars with those several Countries, in several Chapters, as namely, (5) with Spain; (6) France; (7) the Seventeen Provinces, and (8) Scotland. (9) I then make some short Observations of our Foreign Wars. (10) take a brief view of our Civil Broils, and (11) conclude with a Comparison between the warlike Exploits of the English in former times, and those of the present. Some (I believe) will think me too brief in these Chapters, and that I

in

in the great haste past over some of these Wars; but I shall desire these to consider, that I have allotted a very large proportion of this Book to this one particular of the English Wars, and that I have designed (for I must again minde my Reader hereof) onely to sum up the Excellencies and Advantages of our Country, and not to dwell on them.

In the second and larger Part, I endeavour to shew the Strength of England, where having (1) discoursed in a general way of Industry, and trusting in Providence, I then take a view of the situation of the Country, examine the populousness of it, the number of men fit for War, the ability of their bodies; and (2) the strength of their minds, (namely, their Courage) and then (3) survey their Forces by Sea and Land. After this follow Discourses (4) of the

the Commodities of the Soil, and other Advantages peculiar to England. (5) *Of the Revenue.* (6) *Of the English Genius.* (7) *Of the Religion of more Ancient times.* (8) *Of Protestantism.* (9) *Of the present Condition of the Church.* (10) *Of the Interest of* England. (11) *Of the Political Government.* (12) *Of the Laws of* England.

And then I Conclude.

In the [illegible] endeavour to shew the Strength of England, where having (1) discovered in a general way of Industry, and inquiring in Providence, I then take a view of the Situation of the Country, examine the Population of it, the Number of men fit for War, the ability of their bodies; and (2) the strength of their minds, (namely their Courage) and then (3) survey their Forces by Sea and Land. After this follow Discourses (4) of the

A

A DISCOURSE OF THE National Excellencies & Advantages OF ENGLAND.

First Part.

CHAP. I.

Of the Wars of the Britains, *and their Courage.*

THe Angels, those heavenly intelligences, when they descended on earth, full fraught with Idea's of happiness, could not choose out a more agreeable congratulation for the earth, then Peace, which indeed is the Fountain of almost all other temporal goods, the end of War, and perfection of Government. Peace is yet but an imperfect and momentary injoyment, and (as all other terrene felicities) good onely in its turn. War hath also its season, and is then not onely necessary, but also profitable and glorious: Experience hath all along confirmed that Lesson of the wise King, That there is a time for War as well as Peace: *For there is no body*

(as the Lord *Bacon* excellently obſerves) *either natural or politick, which can be healthful without exerciſe; and certainly to a Kingdom or Eſtate, a juſt and honourable War is the trueſt exerciſe.* To this effect alſo is that Sentence in *Livy*: *Nulla magna civitas, diu quieſcere poteſt. ſi foris hoſtem non habet.* Peace, if conſtant, debaucheth the beſt people, extirpateth all manner of good, and at laſt makes men cry out with the Poet,

Juvenal. *Nunc patimur longæ pacis mala*——

Gods own people, the Iſraelites, in time of war, the moſt conſtant, reſolute and obſtinate Defenders of Religion and good manners, are in time of Peace Idolaters, Murmurers, Diſobedient and Ungrateful. And certainly, if we would ſee the excellency and worth of that people (or of any other) we muſt not look what they were in peaceable, but warlike times: Nor can (in my opinion) a better reaſon be aſſigned, why *Rome*, of any Nation, gave for ſo many ages, ſuch ſtupendious examples of a national vertue, then this, that it rarely enjoyed Peace, and ſo had not the leaſure to be vitious. This Nation, that by armes had attained to the largeſt Empire, and was moſt celebrated for vertue, in peace fell, and degenerated: It was a ſmart, and notable remark, that *Tacitus* gave of the diſſolute and effeminate times of *Nero*, *Illis inertia pro ſapientia fuit.* The glorious Sun which beautifies the heavens, leaving though ſome ſpots, yet no blemiſhes in it, and recreates the Earth with its reſplendent rayes, doth at the ſame time with theſe attractive rayes, draw up vapors and miſts, which ere long fall on the

Earth

Earth with Thunder and Lightning, hideous Storms, and dreadfull Tempests. Thus is it with Peace, which is indeed for the time, the greatest felicity, and gives a glorious serenity to our Heaven, making it happy with its refreshing beams, but withal it procreates ease, wantonness, pride, contentions and murmurings, which having darkned the face of that same Heaven, and made it look dismal with blackness and horror, at last breaks out into tempests of War and Showres of blood. When prosperity, and mans corrupt nature meet together, what with reason can be expected from such a congress, but the monstrous products of ease and luxury, against which two enemies no Commonwealth, though laid on adamantine foundations, can long stand? The Soul which triumphs over the utmost extremities, and greatest violences of a bad fortune, is effeminated by the pleasures and softnesses of a prosperous one, and easily trodden under foot by sensual delights: it is thus with every State, which whilst armed, and in the wars proves victorious, at least healthy, but in peace becomes the prey of the basest enemies, and falls after an ignoble manner by its vices and follies. Good Government may indeed for a time keep off the invading mischiefs that accompany prosperity and a constant peace, but at last they will break in like an overbearing torrent. And then Peace must give place to the Sword, which is rightly termed, *Optimum, pessimumque vitæ instrumentum.* War cures a State of all diseases and ill humours, and renders it at last able to relish the good and sweetnes of Peace. *Si pace frui volumus, bellum gerendum est; si bellum emittemus, pace nunquam fruemur.* But here Cic 7.

I must desire, when I speak against Peace, to be understood of a vitious one; and when I commend war, I require these qualifications to it; that it be necessary, just and honourable.

Thus qualified; it is not onely profitable, but also commendable: And this is it that hath made me insist so much upon the Wars of *England*, that by the relations of them, as on the one side, whilst I praise, I might delight; so on the other side, whilst I set such variety of warlike actions before my Reader, I might also in some measure profit.

My design in this first part being, with brevity, and yet with perspicuity, to speak of the English Courage, I must take my rise from the *Britains*, that I may do them right in setting out their resolution in war, and allowing them a place in a Discourse that concerns this Isle, (once wholy theirs) as also, that I might highten and raise the valour of the English in so just a way; for how great soever the courage of the old *Britain* was, it could not outgo that of our Ancestors, which after many tedious and bloody trials, carried away the victory.

I shall not trouble my self with the derivation of the name of the *Britains*, or their original, (whether they came from *Gaul* or *Troy*, or whether they were Aborigines) but keep close to the Relations of their war and valour.

The valiantest of Romans, *Julius Cæsar*, followed by a brave and disciplined Army, when the Roman Empire is at the highest, sets on the *Britains*, then naked. Of whom yet (which appears very strange, if his large and sudden conquests in other parts of the world, as *France*, *Spain*, *Italy*, and

and the Provinces of *Asia*, be considered) he gains in two several expeditions very little ground, and did rather shew the Country to the Romans, then conquer any part of it. And yet this great Commander was no Cunctator, no trifler in war; it was of him that the Roman Poet said,

——— in omnia præceps, Lucan.
Nil actum credens cum quid superesset agendum.

And afterwards, in another place, he gives this further Character of him.

Fata sed in præceps solitus demittere Cæsar,
Fortunamq; suam per summa pericula gaudens
Exercet.

Notwithstanding, amongst these naked people did not *Cæsar* perform any thing like himself, or agreeable to that fortune which he had found in all other places. For under his conduct the Roman Legions are twice repulst by *Cassibiline*; Insomuch that Great *Pompey* in *Lucan* upbraids him in this manner,

Territa quæsitis ostendit terga Britannis.

And an other Roman Poet, after these Expeditions, acknowledgeth that this Island was as it were untoucht.

——— intactus Romana Marte Britannus.

Augustus and *Tiberius* neglected *Britain*, as too troublesom to keep. Till *Claudius* his time no-

thing was performed by the Romans here memorable. This Emperor first ~~sends~~ sent *Aulus Plautius* hither, who (as *Tacitus* relates) gave the *Britains* several overthrows: After which he findes (as the same Historian affirms) the enemy more courageous, and therefore is at last forc'd to send for *Claudius* himself; who being arrived, beats the *Britains* in a set battel. Mighty honours are decreed to him for this victory. He hitherto had conquered but a part of a no great Province, and yet magnificent *Rome* out-does it self in stupendious triumphs, for a victory obtained against a naked people, by a power that had all manner of ~~other~~ advantages on its side. Nor did a few victories decide the quarrel between the Romans and *Britains*; for we read that *Vespatian* in the time of *Claudius* fought thirty battels in this Island: And yet after this, *Ostorius* findes the invaded as stout as ever, and full of courage, and in the head of them as worthy a Captain, named *Caractacus*, who after divers prosperous actions, and some doubtfull successes, in a set battel obstinately disputed, is with his British Forces wholy overthrown. And afterwards flying into the Dominions of Queen *Cataſmandua*, she delivers him prisoner to the Romans. Now again did *Rome* do its utmost to set out a triumph: Notwithstanding in the opinion of *Tacitus*, the *Britains* did divide the glory with the Romans, for he relates that the neighbouring Provinces, and even *Italy* it self did celebrate *Caractacus* his fame, *avebantq; visere, quis ille, tot per annos, qui opes nostras sprevisset*: And he furthers adds, *Et dum Cesar decus suum extollit, addidit gloriam victo.* This last great exploit did not end the war; for

Tacitus.

the

the Romans found their enemies more inflamed to revenge, and they put these invaders presently after to considerable losses, as killing a Campmaster and eight Centurions, and the forwardest common Souldiers of that body, which they led, then putting to the sword their forragers, and those troops that were sent to rescue them, and at last fighting with the Legions for a while, with small odds on either side, though at last worsted. Besides they cut off two aid-bands, and prosecute the war so hotly and obstinately, that *Ostorius*, wearied with care and travel, dies. The *Britains* taking opportunity of the vacancy, cut a Legion in pieces; and when *Didius* arrived, they under *Venutius* an other famous Captain, maintained fierce fight with him, and *Cataſmandua* Queen of the Brigantines, whose quarrel the Romans had undertaken; & here indeed the Romans, with the assistance of the Queen's Forces made a shift to rescue her person from the Enemy, yet they were forc'd to leave her Kingdom to *Venutius*. The next Propraetor, in whose time any thing considerable was acted, was *Paulinus Suetonius*, under whom fell out the insurrection of *Boodicia*, who kills 70000. Romans, but afterwards in battel loseth 80000 of her *Britains*. The Roman Armies, though so often victorious, could not yet make the *Britain* a slave: the introducing of vices and pleasures amongst them did the work for the Romans; not but that after the bringing in of *Tacitus.* these pleasures, which were first introduced by *Trebellius Maximus*, they fought many battels, and those bloody ones: but being plyed by such Roman arts, no wonder at last that they are enervated, that their weapons fall out

of their hands, and they become provincials.

The *Britains* not onely behave themselves valiantly on their own ground, but also abroad; They by their arms seised on the Gaulish *Britanny*, which their Posterity have kept ever since; They gave the world one of its greatest Emperors *Constantine*, who attained to that dignity chiefly through the favour and courage of the *Britains*: And for a particular exploit, what more memorable and notable could there be, then that of *Conon* the *Briton*, who with 6000 men, made a retreat from *Apulein* to his own Country, through all the breadth of *Italy*, and length of *France* in despite of the Emperor *Theodosius*, which Sir *Walter Rawleigh* chooseth among all other examples, to liken to *Zenophons* famous retreat out of *Asia*, though he acknowledgeth, that it did not equal *Zenophon's*.

Sir Walter Rawleigh, book 3. first part. c. 11. s. 10.

The imployment of the *Britains*, as it may cleerly be gathered out of those writers that make mention of them, was in a manner wholy war; They had but little regard to traffick, none for tillage, or for any manufacture, or civil occupation; Their Religion also was warlick, their highest diety being *Andates* the Goddess of Victory; Contempt of death and courage were the chiefest points that their Priests preached to them. This is cleer by *Cæsars* words of the *Druids*, *Imprimis hoc volunt persuadere non interire animas, sed ab aliis post mortem transire ad alios, atque hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari putant, metu mortis neglecto.* Hence it was that beleeving that there was an other life (a noble and high point in the Creed of Barbarians) they bravely contemned death, and defended onely with a narrow Shield,

Shield, a Spear and a Sword, they dared to expoſe themſelves againſt the heavy armor of the Romans, and ſometimes by meer reſolution were able to carry away victories, and though never ſo often foild and ſlaughtered, yet they yeelded not to the fortune of the Enemy, nor did they indure to be conquered. When Religion once joyns its helping hand to infuſe courage into a people, arms are then their delight, war but a play, and death not at all terrible. And thus we ſee the Turks (whoſe Religion promiſeth a Heaven to the valiant, and damns the Cowards) bring with them to the fight an ardor and bravery that overbear all Enemies. How do they in bands flock to the Army to ſeek ſo bleſſed and meritorious a death? what will they not perform that they may meet death? yet at how dear a rate do they part with their lives? But to return to the matter, as the *Druids* did chiefly indeavour to infuſe into the mindes of the *Britains* courage, and contempt of death, ſo their Bards ſung the famous acts of their great men, and ſtrove to render their fames immortal: And what great minde would not loſe a mortal life to gain a never dying name? *Lucan* in contemplation of the undauntedneſs and valor of the *Britains*, cries out,

Solis noſſe Deos, & cæli ſydera vobis
Aut ſolis neſcire datum ——

Nor were Arms the exerciſe of men onely, but alſo of the other Sex, which afforded famous Generals to the *Britains*, witneſs *Boodicia* and *Cataſmandua*.

The *Britains* indeed were overthrown often in battel,

battel, and their Country for a good part of it turned into a Province: But let *Tacitus* tell you how this came to pass. *Nec aliud adversus validissimas gentes pro nobis utilius, quam quod in commune non consulant.* He goes on, *Rarus duabus tribusq; civitatibus, ad propulsandum periculum conventus: ita dum singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur.* And yet the Romans imployed thirty years in reducing the Country between the *Thames* and *Striveling*, though it were fractioned into many small parcels, whereas they overran other Provinces far larger and more populous, in much less spaces, of time. Again, *Rome* sent its most famous and renowned Captains to the conquest of the *Britains*, namely, *Julius Cæsar*, *Vespatian*, *Paulinus Suetonius*, *Agricola* and *Septimius Severus*, with many others: And when the Romans had reduced some parts of this Isle, yet *Tacitus* saith of the Inhabitants, *Jam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant*; They would obey, but not serve. There was no Province that belonged to the Roman Empire which set up more Emperors, that aspired to be Lords of the whole world, then this Isle, which made one call it a Land of Tyrants. *Tacitus* equals the *Britain* in courage to the ancient Gaule, with whom the Romans fought not for Empire and Dominion, as with other Nations, but for their lives and safety; nay, he prefers the British courage of his age, before that of the Gauls; and well he might; for we read of some Nations, as the *Silures* and *Ordovices*, that were wholy extirpated before they parted with their little spot of ground. *Agricola* in an Oration before a battel that he fought against the *Britains*, tells his Souldiers plainly, that there was nothing left

left them, *sed manus & arma, & in his omnia*; and yet he was advantaged by discipline and arms, and almost all other things. *Septimius Severus* spends his last breath in these words, *Turbatam rempubl. ubiq; accepi, pacatam etiam Britannis relinquo.* The Roman Poets, when they would flatter their Emperors, could not promise them greater triumphs then over some Brittish Prince: Thus Juvenal brings in one prophesying,

——aut de temone Britanno
Excidit Arviragus——

And *Horace* pleaseth himself with such kinde of thoughts. *Od. 7. Epod.*

Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet
Sacra catenatus viâ——

Such esteem had the Romans of the Brittish souldiers, whom they had tried for so many years, that they made such frequent and large levies of them, which they sent into other Provinces, that at last they left this Isle in a manner wholy drained of men, whereby it became a prey to its enemies. And not to gather up more particulars, we will onely remember that those Roman Arms, that had conquered the whole world, found their bounds in this small Isle; of which they left a good part untouch't to the last.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Original of the English.

THere is in moſt men at firſt a kinde of fear that is born with them, which in time, and by degrees, they learn to put off. Few with *Hercules* in the Cradle, dare incounter and ſtrangle Serpents; and though indeed naturally in ſome few children we may diſcover a certain kinde of height and greatneſs of minde, and they betimes by their forward and lively ſpirits, and by ſome brave excurſions of minde, may give ſure ſigns of their innate courage; yet it can be but a wilde one, till it hath been in the School of Experience and Diſcipline, if it be to be counted any at all.

I am now to ſhew the advantage that cometh to a people by an Original and Stock that is valiant; yet I cannot but I muſt firſt do ſo much right to Diſcipline, as to acknowledge, that valor rather ſprings from that, than from any prerogative of birth. And thus that man that hath been afraid at the very name of War, when brought as it were to ſee and handle the dangers thereof, and when he perceives that death is not certain in battles, that but a few fall when it is couragiouſly fought, and that his fears have often deceived and fool'd him, now dares be one in the hardeſt ſervice, and can meet the moſt threatning perils boldly and chearfully, obtaining that by experience which he never had by nature. And if a people are unfit for Wars, and degenerated, it hath uſually by all Hiſtorians, not without reaſon, been laid to the fault of their Governors, who by exerciſing

exercising them in Arms and Wars, might not onely have kept alive sparks of courage, where before they were, but also have infused them into those brests that were not at all acquainted with them. Those people that were inferior to the *Roman* in Arms, under the conduct and Discipline of the Great *Hannibal*, often beat him; and when the scale of success began to turn, yet this wise Captain maintained himself on *Roman* ground with an Army of Mercenaries of divers Nations, and that for many years, in despite of *Rome*; and at last was not beaten thence by its Arms. The *Thebans* also under *Epaminondas*, an experienced and skilful General, are too hard for the brave *Spartans*, who before through whole *Greece* carried away the bell for valor. Where courage is not innate, Discipline when applied, never fails to produce it; and where courage is natural, it must have the refining and ordering of this courage, before it be genuine and true.

But next to Discipline comes in that natural courage which men receive by their birth, and derive from a valiant stock; which quality is so requisite, that the excellent *Verulam* observes, *Walled Towns, stored Arsenals, and Armories, goodly races of Horse, Chariots of War, Elephants, Ordinance, Artillery, and the like: All this is but a sheep in a Lions skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike*. Discipline may indeed raise a Military people out of an effeminate stock, yet they will still be apt to revert to their natural disposition upon the least relaxation of that force that is upon them. On the other side, it hath a more easie task to perform with those that are the off spring of a stout Nation;

For

For now joyning with their *genius*, it bestows on them a permanent and lasting glory in Arms. This we shall see evident as I take it in the English, whose Ancestors were as glorious for valor as any Nation.

Verstег. Cambden. The English originally were *Germans*, of which people it is affirmed, and not without good cause, that they have always continued a pure and unmixed Nation, and been unmoveable out of their first place and residence, like unto none but themselves. Of all Nations, the *Romans* who had tried all, reputed the *Germans*, and found them the most *Tacitus* resolute and valiant. War was the policy of their Commonwealth; the renown of their Families, the glory and onely imployment of private men. It was a dishonor for their great men to be overcome, and for their followers not to go as far in prowess as they. Their Children as soon as born, that they might enure them to hardship, were cast by their Parents into a cold River. And whilst yet Infants, they brought them to play with Armor, and to delight in the glistering and bravery of it: And as soon as Boys, they were instructed in the use of Pikes fitted for their age. Their *Tacitus.* Wives that were to have no more than one Husband apeice, yet encouraged their Husbands, how dear soever, to fight valiantly; and when a battel hath been near lost, they through their tears, and entreaties, have made them to renew it again, and inflamed them with new courage. The men went singing to the battel; and those that owed their safety to their heels, were forced through meer shame, to rid themselves with an halter of their hated lives. No man amongst them was accounted a member of the Commonwealth, but onely of a family,

family, till adjudged fit to bear arms; till which time also none did assume to themselves the ensigns and tokens of freemen. How many Consular and other *Roman* Armies, did the valor of this Nation destroy and confound in the defence of its Country? Probably more *Roman* Soldiers were buried in it, than in any other part of the World besides. Suitable to their courage, did they assume a name, *German* in their Teutonick tongue signifying *All man.* *Verst.*

But more particularly, the English descend from those people of *Germany*, which were called *Saxons*. These by good Authors were esteemed *Cambden.* the strongest and valiantest of its Nations, and are reported to have inlarged their bounds further then any other particular Nation did in *Germany*, and carried the terror of their Arms into all parts *Verst.* that lay about them; but especially to have lorded it on the Seas. In a word, they were dreaded for their Arms, and commended for their extraordinary Chastity: so that the English derive from a most noble and pure Fountain, being the off-spring of so valiant and so chast a people.

I shall not need to say any thing now of what they were or did in *Germany*, or anywhere else, but rather briefly mention how they acquired the possession of this Isle, and how they have behaved themselves since.

Britain being exhaust by Roman levies, effeminated with Roman vices, and incompassed by several Enemies, as the *Scots*, *Picts*, and our Ancestors the *Saxons*, which last then enjoyed a third part of *Germany*, and under that name did comprehend the *Angles* and *Jutes*: *Vortigerne* King of

of the *Britains* hired the valianteſt of theſe his Enemies the *Saxons*, to oppoſe and reſiſt the *Scot* and *Pict*, probably, not ſo much becauſe his people were unfit for war, as becauſe he did not dare to truſt them; for by the *Britiſh* Writers he is delivered for a Tyrant. Theſe thus invited, enter the Land with 9000 men, through whoſe extraordinary valour, the invading *Scots* and *Picts* are repulſed; and as a reward for their pains, have ~~their~~ their two firſt Kingdoms beſtowed on them, to wit *Kent*, and the Northern parts from *Humber* to *Scotland*. And not long after, having ſurpriſed *Vortimer* (the ſon of *Vortigerne*) whom the *Britains* had made King in his fathers ſtead, they obtained for his deliverance their third Kingdom, containing *Suſſex* and part of *Surrey*. Then with freſh numbers under *Cerdic*, they land at *Portſmouth*, and began the Kingdom of the Weſt-*Saxons*; and about the ſame time *Uffa* eſtabliſhed the Kingdom of the Eaſt-*Angles*, and *Erkewin* that of the Eaſt-*Saxons*, and laſt of all, *Cridda* layes that of *Mercia*.

Yet before they ſetled themſelves, they were put to innumerable battels, to one hundred and fifty years cruel wars, and obtained not the Land but with the extirpation of the *Britains*, who fought it out to the laſt drop of blood, and ſold it (it may be) at the deareſt rate that ever was paid for any Country, the Conquerors ſometimes receiving great overthrows, and once were almoſt wholy beaten out of it. It is no wonder that the *Saxons* did at the firſt ſettle themſelves, being called into the Country by the Inhabitants, and having the Militia put into their hands, and withal thoſe parts of the Kingdom that were the Keys

of

of it, but then it will appear very ſtrange, that they could maintain their poſſeſſion, being put to conteſt for it ſo long a time againſt the inraged *Britains*, led ſometimes by famous and renowned Captains, as *Ambroſius* and *Arthur*, the laſt of whom fought twelve ſet battels with them, and in every one, either overcame them, or had equal revenge: Certainly it is very queſtionable, whether ever more courage was ſhown, more battels fought, more victories won, or defeats received in the purchaſe of any other Country. Daniel.

CHAP. III.

Of the Daniſh *invaſions.*

IN Aſſerting the Valour which the *Engliſh* have ſhown in their Wars, I am now come to ſpeak of the *Daniſh* invaſions, and *Norman* conqueſt, paſſages (as you may judge) little for the advantage thereof: And therefore I muſt needs give a ſhort account why I mention them. I confeſs theſe conqueſts (ſo they are generally called) are the greateſt ſeeming blemiſhes and misfortunes which the *Engliſh* Arms have met with, which made me loth for a time to meddle with them.

——*Quis enim ſua prælia victus*
Commemorare velit—— Ovid.

But that I may not leave at my back ſuch Forces in their full ſtrength, and not attaque them, let us examine the relations of theſe Invaſions, for if

will appear disingenious to go about to prove that against which such objections do present themselves, till we have answered them, or at least labored to reduce them to their just proportions. For my part, when I had seriously studied the whole matter, I saw nothing to the contrary, but that I might produce these passages as evidences of the *English* valour, and such as did not want their weight. I shall therefore in this Chapter begin with the *Danish* Invasions.

BEfore the *Saxon* had well setled his Conquest, the *Dane* begins his invasion, which lasted above one hundred years: Many were the battels he fought before he could accomplish his Conquest, of which he lost the most; but being resolute and fierce, no repulses or overthrows could rid the Land of him. If he were beaten out of this part, he appeared in another; and if by good hap forc'd to his ships, and sent home, as sometimes he was, yet it was not long ere he shewed himself again with fresh Forces. So desperately and cruelly was it fought between the *English* and *Danes*, that we read of nine great battels between them in one year, and in another of seven, and at another time of three considerable ones within the space of three moneths, and presently after these of another. And yet under this invasion the *Saxon* Heptarchy unites, and becomes a Monarchy. The *English* once quite expelled, and wholy subjected this Invader by Arms, and in probability had alwayes been too hard for him, had they used their wonted Arms, and not money, or treachery. The Predecessors of *Ethelred* had till his time, with glory, and for the most part with victory opposed the

Daniel

Speed.

Danes;

Danes; but this Prince, being beset on all sides by the Enemies, buyes his Peace at their hands, which notwithstanding was not kept, to the disheartening of his own people, & the heightning and encouraging of the Invader. The money that this Prince paid the *Dane*, put new spirits in him, and such as before he could never shew, when he met with Enemies, that entertained him with steel onely, and not with gold. What though this King were surrounded by Enemies? The *English* in the greatest straits (pardon a digression, which though it be such from the Story, is none to the general design of this Book) have shown the highest courage.

—— Et fractis violentior ultima virtus.

To make this good, I need but mention the battels of *Cressy Poictiers*, and *Agen-Court*, and in this Age, that of *Dunbar*. And though sometimes they have been worsted, and must afterwards meet their Enemies more Potent than themselves, yet even then you may expect from them the highest proofs of couragious and hightened minds, as at the fight of *Portland*. You cannot put them in a readier way to be Victors, than by reducing them to all manner of sufferings and wants, so that I have had thoughts, (let me not seem too bold in putting them down) that were an Army of *English* sent to invade a forreign Land, the putting them in a like condition, as at *Poictiers*, *Agen-Court* and *Dunbar*, would make them invincible, and perform stupendious actions: Nor is this opinion so strange, for the *Spartans*; being one of the valiantest races of *Plutarch.*

mankinde, were by their Laws enured to a hard and severe life; their food was little and coarse, they were kept to hard labour, so that it will not seem so hard a matter for these men to be willing to die, to whom life could not be very pleasant and dear. I might instance also in the Turkish Militia, which being trained up in a miserable and wretched course of life, hath sometimes less feared death, then Christians, (who it may be, do not mortifie so much their Militia) and been terrible in all ages. But I return to the Story: Certainly, *Edmund Ironside*, that came after *Ethelred*, and had a harder game to play, being more pressed by Enemies, and in greater straits, by the assistance of his *English* gave three great overthrows to the *Danes*, though at last he received one by them, which came to pass (as is affirmed) by treachery. But it was not long ere *Ironside* appears in the field with another formidable Army, which he had suddenly raised and led against the *Dane*. Both Armies facing one another, it came to an agreement between *Ironside* and *Knute*, the two Competitors, for the Kingdom, who agree to divide it between them. *Ironside* did not long survive this partition, and so left the Kingdom intirely to the survivor. And this is the truth of the *Danish* Conquest.

If *Knute* were the Conqueror of *England*, it was rather by his goodness and nobleness, whereby he wholy gained the hearts of the people: *Cæsar* himself not being more gentle, mild and and clement, to his Romans, then he was to the *English*. *England* hardly ever saw more glorious dayes then under this Prince, who brought with him new Provinces, and considerable Kingdoms, and made ours greater then ever.

Knute being possessed of a nobler Kingdom, and having had experience of the prowess of its people, carried an Army of them into his other Provinces, where in a battel against the *Vandals* which in the first day went sore against him, his *English* under the leading of the Earl *Godwin*, the following night fall on the Enemy, and put them to flight with great slaughter. In the morning the King misseth them, and after enquiry, following them by a Tract of blood, he quickly findes the great execution that they had made, by the heaps of slaughtered bodies. Even in this juncture of time, they shewed that they were owners of a somewhat extraordinary courage, scorning to permit any others to divide with them the glory of so great an Action. *Speed.* *Baker.*

After the Reign of three Kings, which lasted for about twenty five years, the Government reverted again to the *Saxon* blood; and those *Danish* Souldiers that remained in this Isle were banished by the States thereof: the rest that could not be many, were swallowed up in the name and body of the *English*, and are as hardly to be distinguished, as Rivers and smaller streams, when they fall into the Ocean. *Verstegan.*

CHAP. IV.

Of the Norman *Conquest.*

WE are now come to speak of the most absolute Conquest of *England* by the *Normans.*

Sir John Hayward. *Harold Harfager* King of *Norway*, and *William* Duke of *Normandy*, had agreed, as some Writers report, to invade *England* at one and the same time; whether they designed it, or no, yet their attempts fell out together. *Harold* King of *England* hearing of the invasion of the *Norwegian* in the North of *England*, marcheth suddenly with an Army and fights him: The contention was bloody and obstinate, the victory for a long time disputed; and though it fell to the *English* Prince, who with his own hands killed the Enemy King; yet it cost him the best blood of his Army. The *English Harold* after this takes no breath, but hearing that the Duke of *Normandy*, with an Army of *Normans*, was landed in the South of his Kingdom, he yet reaking with the blood of a Nation of kindred to the *Normans*, rather flyes then marches to meet them; for within seven dayes after the former battel, which was fought at *Stamford* in Yorkshire, he gives the Duke battel neer *Hastings* in *Sussex*, which may well be termed one of the greatest that ever was stricken. It was fought to the proof, and all circumstances agreed to make it great. Not to be tedious, *Harold* (of unfortunate Princes, one of the bravest) is de-

Sir John Hayward.

feated,

feated, after he had made the Conqueror first dispaire of victory, and which probably he had never obtained, had not the Foxes tail pieced the Lions skin; for the *Normans* (as their own writers relate) by a counterfeit retreat, drew the *English* so fiercely after them, that thereby they easily brake their ranks, and forced them to retire in confusion. The *English* notwithstanding, gaining in the retreat a place of advantage, sheath their swords in the bodies of their persuing Enemies, and put them to a stand. And though in disordered and weak bands they were everywhere slaughtered, yet they fought it out to the last, and like true souldiers, who if they cannot be victors, will die in the place, they make good their ground with their bodies, so that their whole number was almost cut off, 60000. of them and upwards being slain, and amongst them their King, after he had received many honorable wounds: nor was it an inconsiderable quantity of blood which the *Normans* lost, though victorious, six thousand of them being slain, besides those that were drowned. *Daniel.* *Sir John Hayward.*

The fight had continued from seven a clock in the morning until night with unspeakable obstinacy: with their King fell in a manner all the *English* Nobility in the defence of their Country: In it, not so much as one *English* man basely abandoned the field, nor any one yeelded to be taken prisoner; and in so great an execution, not one had received his death by dishonourable wounds, as in the back: Those also that went off from the battel and escaped, retired with their faces toward their Enemies, and fighting, and in the very close of all put their pursuers to conside- *Sir John Hayward.*

rable losses and straits: so that it was not without cause, that Sir *John Hayward* esteemed this battel the most memorable, and best executed that ever was fought within this Land, as well for the skilful directions, as for couragious performance, and also for the greatness of the event.

William Duke of *Normandy* in this enterprise, was assisted by a faction of *English*, by *France*, *Germany*, all the neighbouring Nations and the Pope. The *Norman* had the advantage of the weapon, using the Bow and Arrow, which the *English* then were not acquainted with, and so slaughtered them at pleasure, receiving in the mean while from the *English* no damage, but by close fight, with the Sword and Poleax.

The Relaters of this battel have many other wayes extenuated this defeat, but those that are already mentioned are enough, and such as I am confident cannot be refused as just and true. Should I insist on no other then the advantage of weapon, which was on the *Norman* side, and the stratagem which they used, they would sufficiently serve to my purpose: But if we add to these the length of the dispute, the obstinacy of the vanquished, their mighty slaughter in the fight, we have no cause in the world to blame them. What could men have done more in defence of their Country? or could an unfortunate valour go off the Stage with more bravery? We cannot but we must own both Captain and Souldier, as our worthy and most glorious Country men, and as deserving Pariots: we praise their undaunted courage, and need not at all be ashamed of their loss, but rather place it amongst the surest evidences of our National valour: Men can but do their

utmost

utmoſt and die in fight, the ſucceſs reſts in the diſpoſal of God, who to ſhew his abſolute power, denies victory often to the moſt tried Courage, *Si juſte & pia bella Dii averſantur, fortibus tamen viris licebit honeſte mori.* Curtius.

Again to ballance this loſs, we could produce ſeveral overthrows which the *Normans* have ſince received by the *Engliſh* in their own Country. We could alſo alledge, that their Dukedom hath been more then once conquered by the *Engliſh* Arms. But among them all, I ſhall onely remember that about forty years after the Conqueſt, *Henry Beuclark* the ſon of the Conqueror, enters *Normandy*, with an Army of *Engliſh*, who now will ſhew that they were not inferiour to the *Normans* in valour. The *Normans* led by Duke *Robert*, eſteemed the chiefeſt Captain in the holy war, and the moſt famous and able General of that Age, met them, and gave them battel, reputed by all writers the moſt bloody medley that ever happened in *Normandy*, in which the *Engliſh* through pure force and vertue overcome the Enemies Army, take the Duke Priſoner, with 400. men of Arms, and 10000. common Souldiers, and after wholy ſubdue *Normandy*. Hayward.

However, the Conqueſt of *England* by the Duke of *Normandy* gave no great mixture to the *Engliſh*; for there are but three or four hundred Gentlemen in the Catalogue of *Battel-Abbey*, on whom the Conqueror beſtowed Land in *England*, and probably one half of them did not remain two Ages after, and ſcarce one quarter of them are remaining at this day. But ſuppoſing the number of the *Danes* and *Normans* were never ſo great, which did ſettle and continue in *England*, yet they Verſt.

being

being both originally of one Nation and tongue with the *English*, cannot render them a mixt Nation. Withall to this day, the *English* have kept their Name and Language, which if the number of the *Danes* and *Normans* had been considerable, in probability they could never have preserved.

Since this Conquest we finde the *English* for the most part on the invading hand, and from this time we may allow that saying in *Cambden* to take place, *Anglica providentia semper fuit hostes praevertere, non expectare.* Again, on the other side, those invasions that have been made on them by Forreigners, have since constantly been fruitless to the Attempters.

Camb. An. p. 1. An. 1559

CHAP. V.

Wars with Spain.

HAving broken through those difficult passages of the *Danish* Invasion & *Norman* Conquest, the way appears to me more smooth, and pleasant: For *England* since hath been renowned for Arms, and for the most part successful in its wars with Forreign Nations. I shall in this Chapter discourse of the wars which have hapned between *England* and *Spain*.

In *Richard* the seconds time, an *English* Army was sent to assist the King of *Portugal* against the *Castilians*, through whose help chiefly, the *Castilians*

Speed.

Ans in a main battel were overthrown, and 10000. of them slain. And not to mention any thing of the journey of *John* of *Gaunt*; I shall onely remember, that before these Expeditions, the *Black Prince* entered *Spain*, for the reinthroning of *Peter* the ejected King of *Castile*. His Forces numbered 30000. men, which defeated an Army of 100000. made up of *Castilians*, *French*, and *Sarazens*, after a fight a good while maintained, with much resolution on both sides. The *English* lost in this battel 1600. men, took 2000. Prisoners, and slaughtered of the Enemy 7000. common Souldiers with 500. Gentlemen. Having obtained this Victory, the *Black Prince* afterwards ejects one King, and sets up another in his place.

Thus much for the wars that happened in more ancient times; we come now to discourse of those that fell out in the golden Age of the renowned Qu. *Elizabeth*, which will supply us to the full with the instances of the felicity of the *English* Arms, when bent against the *Spaniard*. But before I fall on the trials that have been between these two Nations in the Queens Reign, it will in my judgement much illustrate the matter, if we take notice of the formidable condition that the *Spaniard* was then in, as also the state of other Potentates his neighbours, and the condition of *England*.

Spain was then at the highest pitch of its greatness. The Sun (to express it in a *Spanish* Vaunt) never set on the Dominions of its King: *Portugal* and *Catalonia* were not then revolted. Within less then a hundred years it had enlarged its bounds much more then the *Ottomans*. By Arms it had

Bacon's Considerations of a war with Spain.

had seized on *Granada*, *Naples*, *Milan*, *Portugal*, the *East* and *West-Indies*, and had laid a design for the Monarchy of whole *Europe*. Besides, such was the success of the *Spanish* Militia, that the King of *Spain* had not met with an Enemy, for many years before, whom he had not easily worsted, and triumphed over; and at that time when the Queen undertook him, he carried away without dispute the chiefest reputation for Arms. In particular, the Duke of *Alva* in the *Low-Countries* (before the Queen sent *English* Forces for their relief) goes on in an uninterrupted course of victory, beats the *Dutch*, *Germans* and *French*, and so speedily rids himself of his Enemies, of what Nation soever, and this as fast as they shewed themselves; that he who reads the History will almost dispair of meeting any Power that should be able to give a stop to his fortune.

And for the neighbouring States, few of them, in respect of his mighty and large Territories, were able to come into the lists with him. And those that might seem able, as *Germany*, *Italy* and *France*, by long rest were rendred unfit, and by him were to be taught the use of their weapons. *Germany* was divided and distracted, and a large part of it in the hands of the house of *Austria*, able to over-ballance those that might stir against it. In *Italy* the *Spaniard* had sure footing and large possessions, the remainder of it being fractioned into such small States as could not promise any great matter. And *France*, the fittest match for *Spain*, was in a sound sleep, and unactive. Interest could not then work on the forward genius of that Nation, nor their imminent danger rouse them up to the Wars.

Even

Even *England* was unuſed to war, and by a long Peace rendred not ſo apt for Arms: yet Queen *Elizabeth*, taking the opportunity of the revolt of the United Provinces, undertakes this mighty Monarch, when no other Prince dar'd, aſſiſts them with Forces, and never leaves them till ſhe had put them into a condition, not onely to defend themſelves againſt him, but alſo to gain ground.

The *Germans*, under Duke *Caſſimire*, and the *French* under *Alenſon*, that came to their aid, and were paid by her money, and their other Forreign aids came off but unfortunately in this war. It was her Forces which gave the firſt ſtop to the *Spaniards* in the full carier of their victories. That it was ſhe that firſt oppoſed the *Spaniard*, with ſucceſs, I ſhall here endeavour to make out.

Immediately before the *Engliſh* came on the Stage and gave a ſtop to the *Spaniſh* victories, *Don John* of *Auſtria*, with a little more than a 1000. horſe, & a 1000. foot, miraculouſly beats the States Army that numbred 16000 foot, and 3000 horſe. *Bentivog. Strada.*

But the next fight that happens, was the battel of *Rimenant*, to which the *Engliſh* were come the day before. And here the ſtate of the war is clearly altered. This battel was fought between compleat Armies; onely whereas in the former battel the States had nine to one, and yet were beaten; In this the *Spaniards* exceed in number, and are led by the ſame *Don John* of *Auſtria*, a renowned General, Crowned with the victory of *Lepanto*, and made famous by other great exploits. In the front of the States Army are the *Engliſh* Aids, with ſome *Scots* amongſt them, the former headed by Sir *John Norris*, (of whom *Baron's Conſider.*

Strada

Strada. *Strada* (relating this dayes fight) saith, that he was *eo Die pugnacissimus*: the latter commanded by Sir *Robert Stuart*. These *Brittish* Auxiliaries came to the Army but the day before the battel, harrased with a long and tedious march, and which is left as a memorable circumstance in all Stories, the Souldiers being more sensible of the heat of the Sun, then of any cold fear of death, cast away their Armor and Garments, and fought in their Shirts. And as these aids were in the head of the States Army, so in the van-guard of the *Spanish* were the prime of all their Souldiery, which to make appear the better, I will cite the noble Cardinal *Bentivoglio*, who speaking of *Don John*, saith: He therefore assaulted the *English* with a number of choice *Spanish* foot; and in the front were plac'd yet more choice men, of a particular famous Company which *Alonzo Martines de Leva* had brought out of *Spain* to *Flanders* at his own costs. The same *Leva* had a little before quitted the place of General of the *Spanish* Gallies, and to shew his great valour and zeal in the Kings service, had by his own monies raised 200 foot, and resolved to lead them to the Kings Army in *Flanders*: There was not one of them that was not a Gentleman born, or a Souldier of quality; for many that had been formerly Officers in *Flanders* had put themselves in this Company. After this he goes on to describe the fight. The assault (saith he) was exceeding fierce, but it was no less couragiously sustained by the *English*, who were all of them likewise old Souldiers: This Action was on the first doy of *August* 1578. it lasted many hours with equal courage and slaughter, though the United States pretended to be victors, and the

Bacon' idem. *Bacon.* *Strada.* *Bentivog. wars of Flanders. lib. 10.* *The same Author yet.*

Spaniards

Spaniards not being able to compaſs their ends, were worſted. And now ſhould we refer the buſineſs to ſo indifferent a Judge, we have as much granted, as at firſt we affirmed, that the *Engliſh* gave the firſt ſtop to the *Spaniſh* ſucceſs. And yet further out of this Author, we may collect what may juſtly make us think that the *Spaniard* had the worſt of it, as firſt that he gave off the fight; then the Cardinal mentioning, that the States claimed the victory, without any interpoſition of his judgement to the contrary: But laſtly, and chiefly, that *Don John* (as the Cardinal relates) preſently after this fight, reſolved to put himſelf on the Defenſive. But the Lord *Bacon* reports, that after a fight maintained by the ſpace of a whole day, (from ſeven a clock in the morning to ſix at night, ſaith a *Dutch* Author) *Don John* was repulſt, and forced to a retreat, with great ſlaughter of his men, and the courſe of his further enterpriſes wholy arreſted, nor did he long ſurvive it: Neither did the *Engliſh* onely ſhew that the *Spaniard* was to be dealt with, but alſo that he was inferiour to the *Engliſh*, as in valour, ſo in ſucceſs, which I ſhall now endeavour to clear. *Bacon's Conſider.*

In the year 1582. was that memorable retreat of *Gaunt*; then which ſaith the Lord *Bacon* there hath not been an exploit of war more celebrated: For in the true judgement of men of war, (I uſe his words ſtill) honourable retreats are no wayes inferiour to brave charges, as having leſs of fortune, more of diſcipline, and as much of valour. There were to the number of 300 horſe, and 3000 foot *Engliſh* (commanded by Sir *John Norris*) charged by the Prince of *Parma*, coming upon

upon them with 7000. choice horſe, beſides that the whole Army of the *Spaniards* was ready to march on; nevertheleſs, Sir *John Norris* maintained a retreat without diſarray, by the ſpace of ſome miles (part of the way Champagne) unto the City of *Gaunt*, with leſs loſs of men then the Enemy. The Duke of *Anjou*, and the Prince of *Orange* beholding this noble action from the walls of *Gaunt*, as in a Theatre with admiration. And under the walls, by both parties, was maintained a reſolute fight for the ſpace of two hours, till the *Spaniards*, not being able to break the *Engliſh*, were forced to retire. *Strada* ſpeaking of the *Spaniards* ſetting on the *Engliſh*, expreſſeth it thus; *Et fecere illi audaciter, ac ſtrenue: raroq; alias Hiſpani ferocius invaſere hoſtem, oſtenſuri, opinor, Belgis, quantum virium partibus accreviſſet Hiſpanorum acceſſu.* They came off (ſaith he) boldly and ſtoutly in this fight. The *Spaniards* rarely have with more fierceneſs ſet on an Enemy, that they might ſhew (as I think) to the *Belgick* Provinces, what ſtrength and advantage fell to their Kings ſide by their coming.

Bentivog. p. 2. l. 11.

Strada.

The very year before the Earl of *Leiceſter* with more numerous Forces appeared for the aſſiſtance of the United Provinces, they had loſt *Bruges*, *Gaunt*, *Malines*, and *Antwerp* it ſelf, after a famous ſiege, with many other places of importance, and were reduc'd in a manner, within the bare limits of *Holland* and *Zealand*. At this juncture, the *Engliſh* take upon them the Patronage of their almoſt deſperate affairs, when the *Spaniards* alſo thought themſelves as good as poſſeſſors of the remaining Provinces. Hear *Bentivolio* in this Caſe. *Farneſe* (ſaith he) through the acquiſition of ſo many

chief

chief Cities, and particularly that of *Antwerp*, did verily beleeve to put an end to the troubles of *Flanders*, either by some way of fair Agreement, or by absolute conquest: Wherefore he was wonderfully moved to see this victory, which he had so assuredly fancied to himself, either by the one way or the other, taken from him by the *English* Succor; and the King of *Spain* thought himself so highly offended, as he did not long delay the resenting of it. *Parma* indeed after *Leicester's* arrival takes *Venlo Nuys* and *Sluce*, acquisitions, though great, yet not answerable to his former progress. But again the *English* had the better success in the Field, when it came to blows between them and the *Spanish* Forces, as at *Graves* and *Zutphen*, and probably had they put it to the small trial of a battel, they might clearly have turned the scale of success on their side.

Presently after the arrival of the *English* Army, which was in the year 1586. happened the fight before *Graves* between the *English* and *Spanish* Forces, each of which parties consisted of about four thousand. It was couragiously fought on both sides, but the *English* went away with the victory, and put relief into the Town; for which end they undertook the *Spanish* Forces.

In the same year fell out the famous action of *Zutphen*, of which *Strada* saith; *Pugna — quæ diu in Belgicorum militum sermone versata est, adeo ut si quod ardens prælium jactantius offerrent, tum Zutphaniense occursu comparare consuessent.* Dec. 1. l. 8. He adds, *Quippe inter veteranos, interq; delectos veteranorum prælium ciebatur, ideoq; neutro inclinatum aliquando stetit.* This was fought between the *English* and *Spanish* foot, with equal advantage;

but between the *English* horſe and the adverſe Cavalry it fell out otherwiſe; fortune favoured the *Engliſh*, who worſted the Enemies horſe, as *Bentivoglio* acknowledgeth.

And now we are come to the battel of *Newport*, which made the year 1600. ſo remarkable. It was the onely one battel, that for many years had
Bentiv. been fought in theſe Wars. The *Spaniſh* Army conſiſted of the flower of their Forces, and was of a compleat and full number for an Army, though that of the States exceeded them therein: but the *Spaniards* thought that ſufficiently ballanced by the quality of their Souldiers. The *Spaniard* was the Aſſailant and preventer, (ſaith *Bacon*) and had the fruit of his diligence and celerity: For he charged certain Companies of Scots, to the number of eight hundred, ſent to make good a paſſage, and thereby ſevered from the body of the Army, and cut them in pieces: for they like a Brave Infantry, when they could make no honorable retreat, and would take no diſhonorable flight, made good the place with their lives. After this followed the encounter of the main battel, which was a juſt encounter, not haſting to a ſudden rout: nor did the fortune of the day reſt upon a few former ranks, but it was fought out to the proof by ſeveral Squadrons, and not without
Bent. l.3 variety of ſucceſs. The end of it was, that the Spaniard was wholy defeated, and neer five thouſand of his men ſlain, ſome ſay almoſt as many more. *Bentivoglio* thus deſcribes this battel; At the ſame time almoſt did the foot fall on both ſides upon the *Downs*, between whom happened one of the fierceſt fights that hath at any time been known. The Spaniſh Mutineers were on foot in the front

of

of the firſt Catholick Batalion, who together with the reſt, gave miraculous teſtimonies of their valour. The Muskets, and other fire-weapons being diſcharged, they came to cloſer fight, to the puſh of Pike, and managing of their Swords. Various, but equally fierce were the inſtigations on each ſide. They fought out of honour, and out of hatred, as if what for hope, what for deſpair, they had been mad. Each ſide hoped to overcome, and as if deſpair at the ſame time had animated them, they ſtood reſolute rather to die, then to be conquered. Thus far goes *Bentivoglio*, deſcribing the obſtinacy of the fight. But now let us ſee what part the Engliſh did bear in it; they had the Vangard of the States Army that day: The honour whereof (ſaith the Lord *Bacon*) in the before mentioned Relation (of which I make frequent mention in this Chapter) was given both by the Enemy, and the Dutch themſelves to the Engliſh: of whom (as Sir *Francis Vere* in his Commentary teſtifieth) being in all but fifteen hundred men in number, eight hundred were ſlain in the Field, and which is almoſt incredible in a day of Victory, of the remaining ſeven hundred, two men onely came off unhurt. It is ſaid alſo, that the Prince of *Orange* did in this battell tranſmit the direction of the Army to Sir *Francis Vere*, the then Commander of the Engliſh. *Cambden Annal.* *Bacon's Conſider.*

We have now done with the ſucceſs of the Engliſh Arms in the Low-Countries; we will change the Scene, and examine the fortune of them againſt the Spaniard on Iriſh ground.

In the year 1580. the Spaniards made their firſt attempt on *Ireland*, to conquer it. All things in that Country favoured their deſign. The Iriſh *Bacon*

were of their Religion, fomented by the Pope, diſcontented at the Engliſh Government. *St Joſeph* with 700. Spaniards lands at *Smermick* in *Kerry*. He was the forerunner of greater Forces; and was to have fortified himſelf in ſome ſtrong place till the Succours came. Accordingly he chooſeth a place, where he erects a Fort, called the Fort *del Or*; but ſuddenly after was ſiege laid to it by the Lord *Grey*, then Deputy, with a ſmaller number then thoſe that were in the Fort. After the ſiege of four dayes onely, and two or three ſallies, with loſs on their part, they that ſhould have made good their Fort for ſome moneths, till new Succors came from *Spain*, or at leaſt from the Rebels of *Ireland*, yeilded up themſelves without condition to the Deputy.

Bacon. In the year 1601. the Spaniards again attempt *Ireland*, and had all advantages in the world, yet with ſmall Forces they are with all Celerity (to wit, within the ſpace of four moneths) beaten out. They obtained without reſiſtance the Town of *Kinſale* the Engliſh Gariſon (but in number only one hundred and fifty) leaving the Town upon their approach, and the Townſmen receiving the Spaniards as friends, theſe Spaniards that put themſelves into this Town, were in number two thouſand of old bands under *Don John* of *Aquila*, a valiant Commander. The Town was ſtrong of its ſelf, and yet they imployed all their Spaniſh skill to fortifie it yet more. At this time the Iriſh Rebels were proud, being encouraged upon Former ſucceſſes; having not long before defeated a choice Army of the Engliſh at *Blackwater*, and killed fifteen hundred common Souldiers, with thirteen Captains. The Deputy in *October* layes

ſiege

ſiege to the Town, and by the ſpace of three Winter moneths continued it; during which time, the Spaniards made divers ſallies, but were beaten in with loſs. In *January* came freſh Succors from *Spain*, to the number of two thouſand, under the command of *Alonzo de Ocampo*. To theſe, ſeven thouſand Iriſh joyn, and take the field, reſolving to relieve the Town, and give the Engliſh battel. The Army of the Engliſh is about ſix thouſand, waſted and tired with a long Winters ſiege, engaged in the midſt between an Army of a greater number then themſelves, freſh, and in vigor on the one ſide, and a Town ſtrong in fortifications, and ſtrong in men on the other ſide. The Iriſh come and ſhew themſelves in bravery, but are contented to give the Engliſh the honour to fall on firſt. And when they came to the charge, the Iriſh ran away before the fight, not did the Spaniard ſtand any conſiderable time after. All this time the Spaniards within the Town do not at all draw out, but behold on their walls the abſolute victory of the Engliſh over their own Countrymen, which came for their relief. Two thouſand Enemies are ſlain; of the Engliſh but one man; the Town yeilds, and all Spaniards by compoſition are to avoid the Kingdom, and to deliver up thoſe ſtrong places which they had neſtled themſelves in.

And now we have ſeen in the Low-Countries and in *Ireland* the ſucceſs of the Engliſh Arms; in the one (our Engliſh Province) they are not able to maintain themſelves any conſiderable time; nor in the other (their own Province) can they remove the Engliſh aids by their Forces. And as hard did the Engliſh Souldiers keep them to it,

in *France*; there happened between them many many memorable actions; amongſt all, I do not remember ſo much as one in which the Engliſh were worſted.

The Engliſh Arms were alſo ſucceſful in the *Indies*, I will mention one Expedition onely, namely, that which fell out in the year 1585. wherein the chief Conductors were Sir *Francis Drake*, and Sir *John Hawkins*, who take St. *Jago* and St. *Domingo* in *Hiſpaniola*, and at *Carthagena*, where the Spaniard had warning of their coming, and put himſelf in his full ſtrength, went through one of the hotteſt ſervices, and moſt dangerous aſſaults that hath been known. For the acceſs to the Town, was onely by a neck of land, between the Sea on the one part, and the Habor-water, or inner-Sea on the other, fortified clean over with a ſtrong Rampier and Barricado, ſo as upon the aſcent of our men, they had both great Ordinance, and ſmall ſhot, that thundred and ſhowred upon them from the Rampier in front, and from the Gallies that lay at Sea in flanck; And yet they forc't their paſſage, and won the Town, being likewiſe very well manned. I mention this paſſage the rather, becauſe of late in thoſe parts we have unfortunately received an extraordinary loſs, wherein the Spaniard notwithſtanding cannot claim any great honour, or aſcribe much to his valour, becauſe he was not put to any trial to bring it about.

Hacklints voyages. Bacon

What we have ſaid formerly of our Wars againſt him in other places, is enough to ſtop his mouth, when he ſhall urge this particular action: and yet we are to mention his unfortunate attempts on *England* in 1588. and

our

our ſucceſsfull invading him in his own Country.

The year 1588. was foretold an Age before it fell out to be, *Annus mirabilis*; and certainly the Spaniſh Armado made it ſuch. The preparations for the invaſion of *England*, on the Spaniards ſide, were wonderful, the Navy wonderfull, its defeat wonderful, and the deliverance of *England* wonderful; therefore I ſhall inſiſt the longer on it.

The motives that induced the Spaniard to this invaſion, were, the ambition of ſo great a conqueſt, and the ſatiating his revenge, for that the Queen (ſaith the Cardinal before cited) had ſo openly revived the Rebellion of *Flanders*, when it was almoſt extinguiſhed. *part 2. book 4.*

The preparations were ſo mighty, that they were proportioned, as one would think, for the conqueſt of the whole world, rather then the half of an Iſle, and yet they were not ſufficient, or ſtrong enough to bring it about. Few enterpriſes (ſaith the excellent *Bentivoglio*) were ever longer premeditated, few made ever with greater preparations, and none ever executed with greater misfortune. *Spain* did its utmoſt in providing for this expedition. The Nobility flockt with all manner of alacrity, ſome to the Army, others to the Navy: and with ſo great a confidence and hope were the Spaniards carried away, that they were willing to admit very few of other Nations into the Navy, thinking to ingroſs all the glory to themſelves. They had in their Fleet an Army of nineteen thouſand two hundred and ninety Spaniards; *Bentivoglio* ſaith twenty two thouſand Foot, and twelve hundred horſe; whereof two thouſand of them were Voluntiers, all of them of the beſt Families of *Spain*. *Spain* rarely ſends out of its barren *Strada.*

barren womb such an Army of naturals. The Pope to further the design, had promised a vast sum of money on their first setting foot on *England*, and for the present was very prodigal of his blessing. The Popes Territories, *Burgundy*, *Savoy*, *Corsica*, *Germany*, *Naples*, *Sicily*, and other Provinces send their choicest Souldiery to the Expedition, as if whole *Europe* had resolved to conquer *England*. The greatest Nobility of *Europe* also give up their names to this Exploit. Amongst them were *John de Medicis*, the great Duke of *Tuscany's* brother, *Charles* the son of the Arch-Duke *Ferdinand*, the Duke of *Savoy's* brother, the King of *Mauritania's* sixth son, with other illustrious names. The Navy consisted of about one hundred and sixty Ships, and was manned with ten thousand Sailers and Gally slaves. *Nec superbius aliquid Oceanus vidisse ferebatur.* Their vessels were almost all Gallions, and like Castles in the Sea, they had Towers in their fore and hinder Decks, their masts were of an unmeasurable greatness, their bodies of a vast bulk, and the very least of them bore no less then fifty great Guns. This Navy had been the hard work of five years, and was termed the Invincible Armado. Besides, his Fleet and land Forces that were imbark't in it, there were ready the Prince of *Parma* in *Flanders* with an Army of fifty thousand men, to be transported when this Fleet had cleared the Sea; but when the Armado was foild, or not able to open their passage, those great Forces were rendred useless, and served but to make the glory and pomp of the Action the greater.

Strada lib. 9. *Bentiv.* *Strada.* *Bentiv.*

To oppose this, the English set forth a Fleet of but one hundred Sail, under the Lord *Howard*, not

of great burthen, but better ſailers, and more ſerviceable; and about thirty or forty ſail more are ſent to lie on the Coaſts of *Flanders*. This Navy of a hundred Ships ſet out of *Plymouth*, and ſail towards the Coaſt of *Spain* to fight the Spaniard there; but upon advertiſement that he was gone home, and upon ſome doubt that he might paſs towards the Coaſts of *England* whilſt they ſought him there, they returned into *Plymouth*. Where through falſe information that the Spaniſh Fleet would not come forth that year, the Navy was on the point of diſſolving, and many of the men gone on ſhore, but juſt at that time the very Enemy appears. The Lord Admiral with ſome veſſels after much labour gets to Sea, and with but thirty Ships at firſt he fights them, they ſailing on notwithſtanding, as well as they could. The Engliſh follow and keep them ſtill in play, their ſhips now coming apace to them. But the Spaniards ſtill declined the fight, caſting themſelves in Roundels, their ſtrongeſt ſhips, walling in the reſt, and in that manner made a flying march to *Calis*: our men by the ſpace of five or ſix dayes followed them cloſe, fought with them continually, made great ſlaughter of their men, took two of their great ſhips, and gave divers others their deaths wounds, whereof they periſhed, and diſtreſſed the whole Armado in nature of a defeat, we in the mean while receiving little or no loſs. *Bacon.* *But one little ſhip ſunk.*

Near *Calis* the Spaniards Anchor, expecting their Land-Forces which came not. Here a few Fire-ſhips are ſent amongſt them by the Engliſh, which put them in ſuch a fright, that cutting their Cables, they leave their Anchors in the Sea. Hereupon the Spaniards finding divers of their

ſhips

ſhips every day to ſink, fly to the North, and ra-
ther chooſe to ſail the vaſt circumference of *Bri-
tain* and *Ireland*, then to make their way through
the narrow Seas. The Spaniards ſay, they did this
to avoid the ſhelves and rocks that lie ſo thick in
the other Navigation, (which yet they knew how
to avoid when they came to invade:) The Eng-
liſh follow them very cloſe, until they were fain
to give them over for want of Powder, but not
till they had ſeen them paſt *Edenburgh*-Frith. In
this Expedition they loſt neer eighty of their ſhips,
and the greater part of their men, ſome ſay, ſcarce
ten thouſand remained alive: the Spaniards con-
feſs the loſs great, but not ſo much. *England* ne-
ver received a greater deliverance, for which God
is at this day, and will be (whilſt this is a Nation)
praiſed and adored, who did not, till he had uſed
the Engliſh courage in ſo remarkable a defeat,
ſend his winds and tempeſts to help on the deſtru-
ction of their Enemies: But they are ſcarce got
out of the reach of the Engliſh Navy, when they
met the moſt terrible tempeſt, that was ever
known at Sea.

Theſe Spaniſh terrors being blown away,
through the goodneſs of God, and the Spani-
ards not being able to land on Engliſh ground;
we ſhall now ſee other kinde of impreſſions
that the Engliſh made on their Territories and
Coaſts.

Bacon. To return the Invaſion of 88; the next year af-
ter the Engliſh ſet on *Spain* with eleaven thou-
ſand men, where in the ſpace of two moneths,
the baſe Town of *Groine* is taken by aſſault and
ſackt. Great Forces (which Sir *Roger Williams* in
a little book of his, called *A brief diſcourſe of*
War,

War, numbred at sixteen thousand) by the English are overthrown, when they had the advantage of a strong bridge, and this they performed, as the same Knight reports, with but six thousand men. This Army landed in three several places of that Kingdom, and marched seven dayes in the heart of the Country, lodged three whole nights in the Suburbs of one of the principal Cities of that Kingdom, being then but a small number of men, beat back the Enemy, that sallied forth to the very Gates, took two Castles Coasting on the Sea, and returned home after this with small loss of men, but by sickness. Bacon.

And again in the year 1596. the English make a second Invasion on the main Territories of *Spain*, where in the Space of fourteen hours, the King of *Spains* Navy, consisting of fifty tall ships, are destroyed, and *Cadiz* the Key of *Spain* a Town fair, rich and strong, manned with four thousand foot, and four hundred horse, taken, sackt and burnt. And though the English tarried many dayes on the place, yet the Spaniard gave them no disturbance, nor attempted any revenge for what they had done; Certainly no Nation hath made such Invasions on *Spain*, since it hath attained to its present greatness, as the English did in the time of Queen *Elizabeth*. The Spaniard, all the time of the Wars, landed but once in *England*, and then burnt three Villages in *Cornwal*, but took not one man. Bacon.

And now excepting the voyage to *Cadiz* in King *Charles* his time, and the late expedition to *Hispaniola*, we shall finde fortune so constant to the English side, that in all actions of War that we have had with them, whether great or small, the

the English have come off with honour, and the better ſucceſs, which (as one ſaith, who made the obſervation) cannot happen meerly through chance. To this, I ſhall add the teſtimony of ſir *Roger Williams*, who had ſerved the Spaniard in the Low-Countries, and alſo fought againſt him there and in *France*. This great Souldier was perſwaded, that ten thouſand of our nation would beat thirty thouſand of theirs out of the field, let them be choſen where they liſt, ſaying ſome three thouſand, which are in the Low-Countries; and thoſe, for all that they be conducted by ancient expert Captains, accompanied with other Nations, nothing inferiour to the Spaniards, both for valour and conduct; notwithſtanding the trained troops of our Nation, (ſaith the ſame Author) did beat alwayes, number to number, both in General *Norrey*'s time, and ſince.

Sir Roger Williams out of the former book.

The Engliſh firſt ſhewed to the world, that this *European* Monarch might be dealt with. They ſtop the courſe of his victories in the Low-Countries and in *France*. They expel his Aids out of *Ireland*, foil his Invincible Armado, invade and ranſack his Country ſeveral times; he in the mean while not being able to drive them thence. In a word, they fight him on all Lands, and ſeek him in all Seas.

Theſe Engliſh put the King of *Spain* in ſome few years to ſo great loſſes, that he was forced to declare himſelf inſolvent of thoſe great debts which he had contracted. So that it was not without cauſe that *Bentivoglio* brings in the Marquels of *Santa Cruz*, uſing theſe expreſſions in a ſpeech of his to the Spaniſh King, about the Invaſion of *England*. It is known that *Spain* can

reap

reap no greater advantage, then by being no longer opposed by *England*: From thence are the *Indies* infested, and the Spanish Fleet threatned: From thence is the Rebellion of *Flanders* fomented, and the manifest usurpation of the Dominions thereof aspired unto: And finally, from thence proceed all the greatest damages which the Crown of *Spain* suffers at this present; and from thence will the greatest evils alwayes derive which shall at any time hereafter befall it. Agreeable to this is that saying used in *Spain*,

Con todo el mundo guerra
I paz con Inglat terra.

I cannot let pass this Observation, that the Irish, whom the English in the late wars, with smaller numbers, dared at any time to meet, and had the fortune to beat, are now of great esteem with the Spaniards, and accounted, not onely in the Spanish Provinces, but also in *France*, good Souldiers, and such as do eminent service; whereby a judgement may be made of the worth of their Armies.

At present the Spaniard dares not appear at Sea, a Squadron of English ships having kept him besieged (as it were) for a year and half: And though he hath been all this while providing a Navy to drive them from his Coast, yet how hath he deceived their expectation and wish, in his not setting on them hitherto? I confess, he seems to have choler enough against the French and Portugals. And me-thinks, since the English have fell on him, he hath assumed a new courage, been more Mercurial and

and active, and in all places appeared with a ſtrange alacrity, whereby his affairs at Land look for the preſent with a better face. And though the Engliſh have now deſtroyed a Fleet of his full of Plate; and for a long time kept from him his *Indian* Gold, yet he hath ſupplied this, by putting on an undaunted courage, and a conſtancy that deſerves an Enemies commendation: He not onely oppoſeth his ſeveral Enemies in all places with reſolution, but alſo ſets on the Conqueſt of *Portugal* in this very *June* mixture of time. It remains a ſecret to God onely, what the ſucceſs of this War will be; yet if we reſpect Gods goodneſs to us in former times, and thoſe trials that have been between both Nations, we have all the cauſe in the world to be confident in the mercy of God, and to behave our ſelves with a courage anſwerable to the Exigency of ſo noble a War.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the French Wars.

THE six first Kings of *England* after the *Norman* conquest (for before this, the English had not imployed their Arms against *France*) were always attended with good success in their French Wars, giving their Enemies several Defeats, and yet (as I take it) receiving none; so that Fortune seemed to have altered her nature, having to so many Princes continued firm and constant. *John* the seventh King, lost all his transmarine Dominions, in a manner without a blow struck in defence of them; but he had lost himself first, not onely in the dalliances and imbraces of a fair Wife (from whence he could not be roused by the loud noise of Arms, and the loss of Provinces) but also in the affection of his English, who refused to serve him in the Wars of *France*, unless he would confirm to them their Liberties, which he never meant to do.

This Princes Arms were notwithstanding often successful in the field, and obtained him many Victories, as in a Battel against the Duke of *Britain*, whom he took Prisoner. The Duke was assisted by numerous French Forces, which in that Fight were utterly defeated. He gained also a memorable and very great Victory at Sea, over a French Fleet near *Dam*; and by his Forces sent the King of *France*, that had invaded *Flanders* with *Speed.* *Daniel*

with dishonour thence: Yet afterwards his Aids that together with great Forces from the Emperor of *Germany*, and other Princes made up the Earl of *Flanders* his Army 150000 men, are overthrown in Battel by the French, and 1500 Knights slain. The English that were but a smal party of the defeated Army, could not lose that honour to the French, which they had wone from them in other Battels by their own single vertue. Nor will I put the defeat of *Guido Saveri*, and *Americk*, though they fought for King *John*, on the English account, because they and their Forces were Provincial and French.

Mat. Par. Daniel. Till King *John's* Reign, the War between both Nations was on French ground. Now the English having called in the French, they under *Lewis* their Kings eldest Son, with 600 Ships, and 80 Vessels, set sail from their own coast and land in *England*. *Dover* Castle defended by a small but resolute number, after a long siege, proves too difficult a task for them to take. *Winsor* Castle also but with but 60 men in it, could not be won by the power of the Barons who assisted the French. And out of *Odiam* a small Town in *Hampshire*, guarded but but by Thirteen men, are the French kept for Fifteen daies, though they did their utmost to carry it: The Castle of *Lincoln*, defended by a noble and worthy Lady, by name *Philippina*, held out against these Invaders for a whole year, and was at last relieved. And (which is a most memorable passage in all respects) their Forces being within the Walls of *Lincoln* City, and making a formidable Army, were fallen upon there by the English, led by *William* the Great Earl of *Pembroke*, and defeated totally, all the principal

principal men taken priſoners, beſides 400 Knights or men at Arms, with all their Servants, Horſe, and Foot; Then their Navy bringing them more Succors to renew the War, are met by the Engliſh, and in a manner wholly deſtroyed: And hereupon having done nothing worthy of ſo great Forces, they at laſt depart.

We ſhall now ſee preſently, whether the Engliſh are better at invading, then the French. And ſo I ſhall mention nothing of the hoſtilities, that happened between the two Nations, till *Edward* the Thirds time, in all which ſpace the Engliſh received no loſs by them.

Edward the Third, a magnanimous Prince, and one of the Engliſh *Hero's*, laies claim to the Crown of *France*, as deſcended from the next Heir, which becauſe a female, the French oppoſe the Salique Law to his right, and put him to make it good by his ſword.

He fetcheth his firſt Trophees from the Sea, and gains a Victory, which if you eſtimate by the number of Ships deſtroyed, or by the blood it coſt, will appear a very great one: The whole French Fleet, that conſiſted of above 200 Sail, were either taken or ſunk, and 30000 of their men ſlain, who with their blood altered the colour of the Sea; yet did not they die altogether unrevenged, for they mixed with their own, the blood of 4000 Engliſhmen. *Daniel:*

Then at *Creſſey*, the black Prince, being but Sixteen years old, and having the leading of the Van Guard, that (as one expreſſeth it) had but the bare two thirds of 8500 men, with this ſmall Force onely, overthrows 60000 French, though Authors of good credit make them double the *Biondi.* *May:*

number, and others agree on 100000. The Commanders that attended the Prince in the Van Guard, had sent to the King in the heat of the Fight to come up with his Power, the King asks the Messenger, If his Son were slain or hurt; He answered, No; Well then, said the King, Return, and tell them, that sent you, That so long as my Son is alive, they send no more to me, whatever happen; for I will that the honour of this day be his. A magnanimous speech, the fullest of gallantry, and most befitting the mouth of so illustrious and dauntless a Father. This Victory, though so remarkable and eminent, sufficed not to crown this excellent and deserving Prince; the next day presents him with new occasions of triumph: The Archbishop of *Roan*, and the grand Prior of *France*, appear with another numerous Army, which was quickly broken by the tried vertue of the English, who made a greater slaughter there of, then they had the day before of the other. In both days fight, there fell of the French Eleven great Princes, and amongst them two Kings, 1500 Lords, Knights, and Centlemen, and above 30000 common Souldiers.

Daniel. *Speed.*

Much about the same time Sir *Tho. Dagworth* with 800 men of Arms, and 100 Archers, twice in one day beats *Charls de Bloys*, Duke of *Britain* out of the field, though he had Thirty men to *Dagworths* one. And afterwards with but 300 men of Arms, and 400 Archers, defeated the great Army of this Duke, in which were 1200 Knights and Esquires, 600 armed men, 2000 steel Bow-men, besides a numerous company of other Infantry, and takes the Duke Prisoner, and other great Personages, and kills 700 Lords, Knights, and Esquires, besides common Souldiers. These

Speed.

These actions, will appear great and wonderful, but that of *Poctiers*, was the miracle of Victories. Of which one saith, *Victoria insignis, quâ nescio, an vetustas ullam proferre possit clariorem.* And Sir *W. Rawleigh* of the same, that it would trouble a *Roman* antiquary to find out a like example in their Histories. The English are 8000 Footmen (they that say the most, make them 10000) tired with a long march, and set on by an Army of 60000. who had all advantages not onely of number, but of force, shew, Country, conceit, and with all the choice of all their Horse-men, esteemed then the best in *Europe*, and the greatest and wisest Captains of their Realm (these are the confessions of a French Historian) and yet with all these, they lost the Battel, and in it Fifty great Lords are slain, 1700 Knights and Gentlemen, and of common Souldiers 6000 besides what fell in the chase, and which was more then all this, they took the French King (who that day had behaved himself like a valiant Prince) prisoner, with his youngest Son *Philip*, and other great names, and 2000 Gentlemen. *Serres.*

After these followed the exploits of that Heroick Prince *Henry* the Fifth, who assisted only by his English, enters *France*, takes *Harfleure* after a hard siege, and from thence crosses *France*, with his Army that numbered but 15000 men, and those weak and sick through sufferings, whom the French exceeded seven fold in number, and indeed in all things but Courage: One of their own Writers saith, That they had 150000 Horse in their Camp. No men were ever more confident then they, on their advantages, thinking their poor enemy so surely theirs, that they had pro-

vided a Chariot for the English King (whom they were yet to take) and sent to know what ransom he would give. The English never yet (so sure a guard, are they to their Princes) had suffered any of them to be taken prisoners. But this Prince, born to triumph over others, will never adorne triumphs. Let not their Enemies expect to be victorious against the English, when they are headed by their Princes; especially by such an one, as this *Henry*, who led his people to honourable Wars. *Henry*'s small Army spends the night before the Battel in prayer, and religious exercises; and to shew the little fear they had of the numerous Enemy, they recreate the night with their chearful musick, which was so high as it drowned the noise of the French Camp, filled with so many horses and men, as one would think their very snortings, should have silenced the noise of so small a number. The day appears that is to decide the Victory, between these unequal numbers; between an Army full of courage, which must help them through all difficulties, and one which had all other advantages, joyned to the highest confidence. The few first advance, and fell on their thick set Enemies, who stand still to receive them; and after three hours fight gain the Victory, cutting down the Enemy by the space of three hours more. Of whom they kill Ten thousand with the loss of Six hundred of their own men. Then the victorious *Henry* fell on *Normandy*, and wins it (as it were) inch by inch, and Town by Town, from the French, who were then assisted by many neighbour-Princes. Hitherto *Henry* had performed all, by the help onely of his English; afterwards indeed he is aided by the Duke

Biondi Civil Wars.

Duke of *Burgundy*, and a party in *France*. But hereby it may be perceived, what he might have done otherwise, onely followed by his English, when with them he had overthrown the French in so great a Battel, and by arms had won all *Normandy*. I know that the French object against these great exploits done by the English in *France*, that they were assisted by the Provincials of their Nation. To this it may be answered, that when *Henry* the Fifth entred *France*, he had not a foot of ground there besides *Calis*, and therefore it was unlikely he could be helped in any proportionable way by the French. It is indeed most certain that after the Battel of *Agen Court*, and conquest of *Normandy*, the English had several Auxiliaries out of *France*; and it is probable that by such kind of aids they lost those advantages, which they had obtained by their own single valor.

The fore-mentioned Victories of the English in *France*, are not all the proofs which they can bring of their valor shewn in *France*: But suppose they were, what can *France* produce to equal them? Those other Exploits, which our Nation hath performed on French ground, are so many and great, that the French have not wherewithal to equal and match them, should they put down all those Victories they have obtained against the English: For we can tell them of other great actions, under *Henry* the Fifth and Sixth, as two Sea Victories under the former, and the Battels of *Creyant*, *Vernuile* and *Herrings*, with divers other under the latter. Let the French put in amongst the rest, their exploits against the English in the Isle of *Rea*, though in truth, they had no such advantage of us there, how high so

ever their vaunting's be, nor did they shew a greater courage then we, if the Lord *Herbert* in his discourse of this Expedition be in the right, which we leave to the judgement of Forreigners the fittest Judges, yet certainly with this addition, they appear inferior to the Successes of the English for valor.

But they did drive us out of *France* by their Arms. Let it be so. And yet when we have shewn the manner of it, probably it will not at all lessen the English courage, but rather heighten and commend it.

They themselves fetch their assistance from heaven, and say, That the Maid of *Orleans* was sent by God for their deliverance. Before, though at almost all Bickerings and Fights, they exceeded the English in number, being so wise as to have that advantage on their side, yet they never shewed themselves in such multitudes at any time, as after this miraculous Maid had appeared. When this armed *Pallas* had got the leading of their Army they flock in great bodies to the Camp, and like a mighty torrent overbear that valor, that before had forced them into a corner of their large Kingdom. Hereafter in those Fights that happen you are not to number the English by Thousands, but rather by Hundreds. You might admire that such a handful as the English were, were not in an instant sent out of that populous Kingdom, by so great Forces as did surround them. And yet how few soever they are, the French are several years casting them out.

Indeed, after the fatal siege of *Orleans*, that gallant Prince, the Duke of *Bedford* with much difficulty, gathers an Army of about Ten thousand

with

with which he seeks the French, who could not be engaged to battel. And again afterwards with another Army, much about that number, makes a like assay with like success. The French King had taken up the Fabian way, of whom it might as well be said, as of *Fabius* ✓ *unctando restituit rem.*

The Duke of *Burgundy* joyns with the French to help on the ejection of the English, and so did other Princes. The most of the French acquests were not by Arms, many of them were through treachery of the inhabitants, who being French, gave Towns into their hands, as fast as they could well receive them, and who by their Rebellions would have given them *Normandy*, had they not been more carefully kept under by the English. Again the Provinces of *Maine* and *Anjou* are given away by the English to purchase a wife for their King.

In this juncture of time, the English are governed by a weak Prince, under whom affairs were administred for the most part either by the Duke of *York*, a private pretender to the Crown, or the Duke of *Sommerset*, an unable and hated person, whereby it came to pass, that the preparations for *France*, were hindred by factions, and did never arrive there answerable at all to the exigency of affairs.

That the English were several times in parties worsted by the French, is acknowledged: But we say, that when they were so foiled, they were not of a sufficient number to make up a just and competent Army, and that on the other side, the French were very numerous, and did by far exceed them in multitudes. Let their own *Comines* relate after what a manner they left *France*. He will

say, that though they were driven out of *France* by *Charles* the seventh, yet they returned home laden with great spoiles, and inriched with French booty, fully resolved to take their time to return again. And it was not long after that, but being called in again by the City of *Bordeaux*, they dared to set on the Conquest of that Province, possessed by the powerful and succesful King of *France*, with but five thousand two hundred men suddenly drawn out of *England* lead by the Lord *Talbot*, who though he fell in the attempt, being outnumbred and environed on all sides, is honored and praised by his Enemies.

One or two other losses they received, being few, when led by this Lord, whose very name is able to take off the disgrace and blot of those losses.

Comines. The English being thus expelled *France* in *Henry* the sixths time, afterwards under *Edward* the fourth, their next King, enter it again, and have the charges of their expedition paid them by the French, and yearly tributes besides assigned for the future.

Bacon. Henry 7th And in *Henry* the sevenths time, they invade *France* with an other Army, and are sent home with silver, not with iron, having also their charges born, and other yearly tributes made over to them. It was in this Kings Reign, that two thousand English foot from *Calis*, and six hundred German horse, cast themselves undescried into *Sir Fr. Bland.* *Desmund*, which the French then besieged; and *Bacon.* thence sallying out on them, raised the siege with the slaughter of eight thousand men, and the loss of their Artillery and baggage. And when afterwards in their return, the English had left their

Artillery

Artillery and wounded men at *Newport*; the French knowing it, to be revenged for their loss, came before the Town with twenty thousand men & assault it. The Defendants assisted by the wounded men, who were come on the works to receive new wounds, and give others to the Assailants, gallantly hold the French in play for a good while, without any advantage gained on them, till that at last the Assailants gain a Tower, on which they place their Colours, and were like to have carried the Town, had not a small succor of eighty chosen men entred it from *Calis*, who seeing the danger ran to help their fellows, and so befurred themselves, that the Assailants (in the instant of time, when the Defendants having received new wounds to their old, could hardly stand on their legs) are beaten from the walls, the Tower regained, and the prey taken out of the hands of so Potent a force by a small number. *Cordes* the French General, after this, judging of the number of the besieged by the effects of their valour, raised the siege. And being enraged with this second disgrace, swore he would be content to be seven years in Hell, so that he might have the fortune to take *Calis*, the Town from whence did spring his disgraces. And of such reputation in this Kings Reign were the English Arms in *France*, that the *Britons*, being invaded by *Charles* the eighth King of *France*, cloathed fifteen hundred of their men in English *Cassocks*, hoping thereby to have daunted the Enemy. The plot indeed did not take, for the Enemy found an other-kinde of creature under the Lions skin. *Bacon.*

In his sons Reign, *Henry* the eighth, the very reputation of the English Forces, that were then *Guiciard.*

at

at hand, gained the Kingdom of *Navar*, (which was protected by the French Arms) for the King of *Castile*. This King makes two expeditions in person into *France*, in which he appeared so formidable, as not to be withstood by them. In the first he gains the battel of Spurs, and if he had prosecuted this victory, he might in all probability have gained the whole Kingdom. He put the King of *France* into despair, and caused him on the loss to shed tears. Instead of prosecuting the victory, he falls on a single Town, *Therouene*, at the siege whereof *Maximilian* Emperor of *Germany* in person served him, and wore the Cross of *England*, and received 100. Crowns *per diem*, for his wages. He takes this Town, and then gives it to the Emperor: then he besiegeth the Town of *Tournay*, and likewise takes that, which he keeps till on a publick Treaty, it is surrendred to the French for a great sum of money. In his second expedition, he takes *Bullogne*, which he holds in despite of *France*, till in his sons time on Treaty, and for a great sum of money, this also was restored. The onely loss (if I do not reckon amiss) which the English received in this Kings time, was under the Earl of *Surrey*, who making a sally on the Enemy with a good strength, was routed by the French. The French to repay our several invasions and attempts on their Country, towards the latter end of this Kings Reign invade *England*, and attempting to land in three several places are repulsed.

Guiciard.

Herbert.
Henry 8th

Edward the sixths time affords not much action between *France* and *England*: But Queen *Maries* was too advantagious for *France*; for from her the French recovered

Calis,

Calis by a ſurpriſe. Indeed they gave Evidences of their Courage againſt *France*, in this Queens time, but it was on the behalf of the King of *Spain*. As at the ſiege of *St. Quintin*, where at the aſſault of that Town, the Engliſh did very eminent ſervice, for which they had the plunder of it beſtowed on them. And at the battel of *Gravelin*, their ſhips thundring from the neighbouring ſhore, are the cauſe, that the Spaniards gain the victory. Sir R. Baker.

In Queen *Elizabeth's* time the French are expelled *Scotland*, by her Arms; but to this they will oppoſe, that they likewiſe caſt us out of *New-haven*, which we had ſeiſed. It would take up too much time to compare theſe two expulſions, which it may be would be found diſadvantagious to them. She ſent ſix or ſeven Armies into *France* on occaſion, which came off with Credit. Through her aſſiſtance, was the Crown of *France* put on the head of the great *Henry*, and the Spaniard ſent out of the bowels of that Kingdom, and the Proteſtant Religion eſtabliſhed. In this Queens time ſuch height of courage did the Engliſh ſhew on French ground, and their too too forward genius put them on ſuch hot ſervice, that ſhe was forced out of a noble pity, ſeeing them ſo laviſh of their blood, not onely to expoſtulate the matter with *Henry* the great, but alſo to chide their Generals for commanding or permitting it. When the Fort of St. *Katharines* at *Roan*, (*Cambden* relates it) was to be ſtormed in four ſeveral places, the Engliſh Forces had three of the four aſſigned them to aſſault. And at the famous ſiege of *Amiens*, Cambden. Cambden Annal. Same. D. Avila, his Civil wars of France.

Amiens, where *Henry* the Great did bestir himself to the utmost, and his French did (as it were) outdo themselves, yet D. *Avila* gives the Switzers, and the English, the chiefest reputation. At the same siege, the Spaniards say to the English, you are all tall Souldiers, and therefore when you come down to the Trenches, we double our gards, and look for blows: But for the French, when they come down, we make account, we have nothing to do but to play or sleep on the Ramparts. *Hist.*

Since Queen *Elizabeth's* time we have had no wars with *France*, unless at the beginning of King *Charles* his reign, who set on the Isle of *Rea*, and unless we should except the Hostilities that were acted between the two Nations of late years. But of both these I have spoken in other places.

I have now taken a short view of the Wars between these two Nations, where we see the advantage hath been on the English side. *England*, (saith the great Chancellor) though far less in Territory, and Populousness, hath been nevertheless an overmatch for *France*. And *Bodin*, *Galli ab Anglis in ipsa Gallia clades acceperunt, ac pene imperium amiserunt, nunquam in Angliam, nisi ab incolis acciti, penetrare potuerunt.* And which is more observable, *Charls* the eighth thought it the best policy to marry the heir of *Brittan*, that thereby he might secure himself against the English, by the addition of that Dukedom, then the heiress of *Burgundy*, with far larger Territories, whereby he might have strengthened himself against the House of *Austria*, and bereft the King of *Overbury's Observations on France*

of *Spain* of ſo many large Provinces.

To conclude, the King of *Spain*, with all his large Kingdoms and Treaſure hath never been able to make any impreſſion on *France* comparable to what the Engliſh have ſeveral times done, which event highly commends the Policy of *Charles* the French King, and ſhews the Engliſh have been more Potent and ſucceſsfull Enemies againſt *France*, then the Spaniards.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of Wars with the Seventeen Provinces.

England hath not had ſuch frequent Wars with theſe Provinces, as with other Countries, becauſe they have for the moſt part been good Allies and Confederates. Some notwithſtanding have happened between them, in which the Engliſh have carried away the better ſucceſs, which here I ſhall endeavour to make out.

The firſt conſiderable action that fell out between any of theſe Provinces, and *England*, was in *Henry* the Firſt his Reign, who in a ſharp Battel defeats the Earl of *Flanders*, in which (as ſome report) he was ſlain. Afterwards in *Henry* the Seconds time, the Earl of *Leiceſter*, coming into *England* with an Army of Flemings, was overthrown in Battel, and Ten thouſand of his Flemings ſlain. In the Reign of *Richard* the Second, *Henry le Spencer* the warlike Biſhop in the quarrel of the Pope, falls on *Flanders* with an Army of Engliſh, takes *Graveline*, *Burbrough*, and *Dunkirk* by aſſault, and in fight overthrows an Army of Thirty thouſand men. Nor is it to be paſt over in ſilence, that in *Henry* the Sixths time, the Duke of *Burgundy*, under whom moſt of the ſeventeen Provinces were then united, ſets on the ſiege of *Callis* a ſmal Town, with a great, rich and flouriſhing Army, compoſed of thoſe Provincials who appeared more fit to have fallen on the con-

Daniel.

Speed.

Sir Fran. Biondi.

conquest of a Kingdom, then a single Town. The English here made little account of the Dutch, so that if they had come to a pitcht Battel, they would have been content to have undertaken them, though they had brought three for their one. And accordingly in the actions that past between them at the siege, the English went away with the success, upon the disadvantage of place and number. But I lay not too great a stress on this last action, because the English were then old beaten Souldiers, by the long Wars of *France* rendred both bold, and excellently disciplined, and the Dutch but newly come from their Shops, and Country imployment, though with a great confidence, yet with a courage that did not answer it. However I shall joyn this action with the rest, the more to illustrate the fortunate issue of the English Arms.

We will now descend to very late years, and make mention of the Naval Wars between *England*, and the United Provinces, who for courage and skill at Sea give not place to the other, but rather out-go them therein.

These United Provinces (saith *Bentivoglio*) by common judgment were esteemed to have as many ships, as almost all *Europe* besides. And Sir *Thomas Overbury* in his Observations on the United Provinces, numbers their ships at Twenty thousand, and saith, that being our Enemies, they were (in his time) able to give us law at Sea. And of this judgment was Doctor *Hackwel* with many other English Authors. Yet the late English Commonwealth, having newly emerged themselves out of a cruel Civil War, and having their Arms otherwise imployed, undertake these potent *Hackwels Apology.*

tent States, then esteemed the Lords of the Sea, and engage with them in a Naval War.

Dr. *Hackwel* might well ask this Question; what were the Gallies, Pikes, and Slings of the *Romans*, to the Ships, Cannons, and Muskets of our Age. And I may as well ask another Question; Wherein are any of the modern Navies, or Fights (whether those of *Lepanto*, or One thousand five hundred eighty eight) comparable to those stupendious Navies, that these two Enemies set out one against another, or to those terrible Fights, which they maintained?

The Spanish Armado of Eighty eight, termed the invincible, and which indeed was the prodigy of Sea preparations, if we judge by the number of the Ordnance, or of the men, or of the making of the ships, fell short abundantly in strength of the ordinary Navies, that either of these Nations brought to the fight. The Galloons of that Armado, were as great towring Castles, not manageable, nor very serviceable in fight: But the Ships used in the late Dutch War, were far less, but more useful, and did withal carry more Ordnance. In that Armado, were but Two thousand six hundred and thirty great Guns; whereas the English had Navies in this War, that carried above Three thousand Ordnance; nor did the Dutch (as far as I could hear) come short of them herein. The Spanish Fleet had not much above Ten thousand Sailers, and Gally Slaves, whereas the ordinary Fleets of the English and Dutch exceeded them herein very near by a half. And as these Navies exceeded that Spanish Armado in strength, so they performed more obstinate and bloody Fights.

It

It is certain, this War was the greatest, and most fiercely disputed, that ever happened at Sea, and (it may be) the Land it self cannot parallel it.

In it were seven Fights upon our or the Dutch coasts, and these between mighty and well prepared Navies: Besides which, there were two others in the Straits, but these were between Squadrons.

All these nine Fights, and much other particular action, were disputted within the space of Fifteen Moneths.

Each Navy being filled with great Ordnance, when it came to a Battel, did break through the main Bodies of one another, discharging their shot at no great distance. Sometimes they cleared the Decks of men, sometimes they fetched the Masts by the board, and sometimes again they sent ship and all to the bottome of the Sea, on which but now it rode triumphantly. And thus having several times charged thorough and thorough, and in united bodies laboured to destroy one another; they at last fall to boarding, and now strive to vanquish in a more close and desperate way. Here being brought to another kind of fight (man to man) you might have seen innumerable sorts of death, given and received. Now one side enters the opposite ship, and beats the Enemy under Deck; from whence again the assailants are forced by the notable resistance of the others into their own. Anon, those that were reduced to their last retreat, put their Enemies into a like condition, who having no other remedy to escape, after a desperate manner blow themselves,

and their prevailing enemies into the Air, ſcorning though on the point of being overcome to be ſo.

Of the nine Fights between theſe Nations, the Dutch had the better ſucceſs in thoſe two, which were fought in the Straits between Squadrons, and alſo in one other between compleat Fleets, on the Engliſh Coaſts. Of the remaining ſix (allowing one of them to have been a doubtful Battel) in the other five, the Engliſh were fortunate and ſucceſsful: ſo that they had number of victories on their ſide, which alſo were of the greater conſequence, the three laſt, being amongſt the number.

In theſe three laſt Battels, the Dutch performed their utmoſt, and ſcorned to be beaten in one days fight. At *Portland* they maintained a bloody, and tedious fight, and kept the Engliſh from the victory for three days; And then alſo went off with a conſiderable body of ſhips. And in the laſt Battel (for which the United Provinces had excellently well provided their Navy, made a notable choice of men, and ſent two great Lords to be eye witneſſes of the valor of the Captains, Seamen, and Soldiers) they diſputed the Victory with incredible obſtinacy for two days.

This War, redounded abundantly to the credit of the Engliſh valor. For if we examine the advantages that either party had on his ſide, we we ſhall find, that the Dutch had more, and greater then the Engliſh, if you will onely except courage. The Engliſh ſhips exceeded the Dutch in ſome reſpects for their ſtrong making; But the Dutch out-went them again in number of men, and

alſo

also of ships, and in the order of fighting, too too great advantages for that single one which the English had; so that in all probability, it was the resolution, and valour of the English (under God) that turned the scale.

And that the courage of the English was the clearer, and evidenter, and under God, obtained the victory, will appear by this, that the English took the greater number of Ships by boarding. The Dutch in the two Victories which they gained in the Straits, took by boarding but two ships (as I remember) namely, the *Phœnix* and *Leopard*. And in the taking of the *Phœnix*, there was used something of a surprise, but this Trophee they enjoyed but for a little time, it being retaken by the English shortly after. Again in the Fight of the 30. of *November*, in which the Dutch had the success on their side, they took onely two ships, the *Garland* and *Bonaventure*, and no more, Whereas the English when they worsted the Dutch in any fight brought away greater numbers of ships, taken by boarding. Nay, I think I may say it with truth, that the English can yet shew twenty Dutch ships taken after this manner, for every one of the English Vessels, which in this way they have carried away from us.

During all this quarrel, the States ships, which the English lost in fight, amounted to but Five or Six, for thus I reckon them. The *Hercules* and *Bonaventure*, two Merchantmen, hired into the States Service, and the *Leopard*, a third Rate ship, were taken by the

Dutch in fight. The *Oke* carrying about thirty Guns was burnt, but this the English had taken before from the Dutch. The *Garland*, another third Rate ship, was first taken by them, then afterwards in another fight, burnt by the English, against whom it then fought. I need not put amongst the losses, either the *Phœnix*, or the *Sampson*; for the first, though surprised by the Dutch, was afterwards retaken by the first owners, and the last was sunk by the English themselves after the fight: However, if we cast this last into the number, it makes up the sum no more then six; a loss, which for its smalness would seem wonderful, though the English had been Victors in every fight. But now the *summa totalis* of the Dutch ships of War, either taken, sunk or burnt in fight, would rise to much about Two hundred. Again, the Dutch lost an incredible number of Merchantships to the English, sufficient in a manner to bear the charges of the War; whereas they rarely made prise of any of the English Merchantmen. How were our Rivers and Harbors filled with Dutch Bottoms brought in for prises? At last the English were able to have fought the Dutch with their own Vessels. So that after all these evidences it cannot be questioned, whether the English were the more successful in this War. Or if any man should question it, I refer him to the conditions of Peace, which the Dutch submitted to, every of which was either indifferent, or for the sole benefit of the English. And yet some thought the Dutch were too nobly dealt with, in giving them

them peace on such terms, wherein they granted much more then what the English required at the beginning of the War.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Wars with Scotland.

THe Scots most of any Nation, have exercised the English valor. The mutual invasions and slaughters, which these two Nations have made one upon another, have filled their Histories, and are so many, as are not well to be reckoned up.

The Scots have always been in Arms against this part of the Isle, and ever and anon would enter the Borders with an Army, over-run and defolate the Country, and return with rich spoils. To repay this, the English would do as much for them. The Skirmishes, the Fights, the Battels, between these fellow-Islanders, were frequent, and bloody. The *Scot* out of his stout stomack, refused for the most part either to give or take breath. Or if in a Truce (for peace was seldom heard of) he did take some little breath, it was onely that he might afterwards fall on more fiercely. One reports, that the Scots had an antient Law that forbad peace with *England*; lest the people growing careless through idleness, and loosing their natural *Biondi Civil Wars of England.*

tural vigor, which was kept up by the use of Arms, might become lazy to the prejudice of the State. They have also not onely joyned with our Enemies here at home, when they have invaded us, but also sought us in *France* and other parts of the World to fight us. *France* thought it could not better oppose us in the careir of our conquest there, then by the valor of the Scot, who suckt the same Air with us, and was not wholly deceived herein; for I shall aknowledge, that the Scot was always in the Van of these Armies, that did oppose us there.

Method. The *Quarrel* between these two people *hath continued longer*, then ever did any, between any other two Nations in the whole world. *Bodin* saith, *that they have most obstinately contended for Empire above Two thousand years.* And if this appear too long a time, yet it will not be denied, but that ever since the Romans time there are clear Records of their mutual invasions and Wars; so that I may well term *this quarrel the most tedious suit that ever depended between any two people in the Court of Mars.*

Again, these two Nations have drawn more blood, and wrought more spoil and destruction of one anothers people, then any other two Nations which we read of. An Historian of ours wonders *how this corner of the Isle* (meaning *Scotland*) *could breed so many men, had it bred nothing but men, as were slain in War fighting against the English.* And to be plain (no doubt) the Scots can tell us of great

Daniel.

slaughters

ſlaughters, and deſtructions which they have made of the Engliſh, but they will never be able to make them any way equal thoſe which the Engliſh have made of them.

Since the conqueſt, there have been above Thirty pitcht Battels between theſe two people. In which the Engliſh have obtained of the Scots at leaſt four for one, and thoſe of greater conſequence.

Scotland was ſeveral times wholly over-run by the Engliſh, *England* never by the Scots. This part of the Iſle being champion hath been ſometimes in its borders harraſed, and laid waſte by the Scots, never poſſeſſed; whereas their Country defended by inacceſſible hills, and by two invincible Enemies, hunger and cold, hath been wholly reduced by the Engliſh.

Four Kings of *Scotland* have been ſlain in War by the Engliſh, and two taken Priſoners, whereas of the Engliſh Kings they have not one to produce, either ſlain or taken Priſoner.

Again the Kings of *Scotland*, were for a long time homagers to the Engliſh Monarchs. The Scots ſay, this was performed for ſome Territories which their Kings held in *England*, whereas the Engliſh contend, that it was for their Kingdom it ſelf, and produce in their Hiſtories ſeveral memorials thereof.

The Engliſh of late undertook the conqueſt of this valiant Nation with an Army that numbered but 13000, too few in appearance to maſter a Kingdom defended by ſo numerous Inhabitants; yet did they peirce the Country with a promiſing bravery. Several gallant Ca-

misado's, and resolute attempts of the Enemy, did they meet with, which through their watchfulness and courage, they always brake. But they could not so well prevail against the hardships of the Country, which causing sicknesses amongst them, reduc't them to a slender body, in shew not able to keep the field. The Scots from those high hills, that encompassed this sickly remnant, and which they had possessed themselves of, look't down on the English as their sure prey. Certainly these were fitter for an Hospital then a Camp: yet with what an extraodinary ardor did they desire Battel? When the Trumpet with its sprightly and ravishing noise, had summoned them to it, those that before through sickness were not able to move, now with that welcom sound are inspired with new spirits, and with alacrity run to arms, and knowing the worst that could happen, would rid them of abundance of misery, they resolve to die or overcome. I need not tell you the success: *For there were never any men in the world* (great *Hannibal* is brought in by the Historian, delivering these words to his Souldiers before the Battel of *Ticinum*) *appointed with such a resolution, to be victorious or die nobly, that had ever been beaten or broken by their Enemy.* But what counsel moved the Scots, when their Kingdom lay at stake at one cast (as it were) to hazard it against *such valiant and such miserable men?* Courage once sharpened, and edged by bitter sufferings, is invincible. How much better had they done, had they levelled those mountains, which surrounded

Sir Wal. Rawleighs hist. of the World.

rounded their wretched Enemies, and which proved such slight defences against a Vertue backt with necessity, and so made them an easier passage to their own homes, who by reason of their sickness did very much want it. Having gained the field, the English are put to conflict with strong wals, unpassable waters, inaccessible Hills, and those hardships that had already too sorely plagued them, which at last by their courage they surmount, and so obtain the whole Country. In a word, having with their sword overcome the men; with the Amunition Bisket, hunger; with their activeness and industry, the cold; and with patience their other Adversaries, they made so absolute a conquest, that the very Highlanders never before quiet under their own Kings, have been brought by the English to an incredible, and unheard of good neighbourhood with the Lowlands, which continually suffered under the petty insolencies and hostilities of these Mountainers.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Observations on the Forreign Wars of the Engliſh.

THe Forreign Wars of the Engliſh have been againſt valiant Nations, ſuch as inhabit the Northern Climate. And the Roman Poet will tell us,

Luc. l. 8.

Omnis in Arctois populus quicunque pruinis
Naſcitur indomitus bellis, & Martis Amator.
Quicquid ad Eoos tractus, mundiq; teporem
Labitur, emollit gentes clementia Cali.

The Engliſh have rarely warred with Aſiaticks, but Europeans, and thoſe Nations of *Europe*, that excel in courage, and in this reſpect are *the braveſt races of mankinde*. It will be ſufficient to make this good, if we but name them, and tell you, that they are the French, Spaniard, Dutch and Scot. What the Event of theſe Wars was, the precedent Chapters have ſhown.

In all Forreign wars, the Engliſh for the moſt part have been victorious. And if we examine the number of victories, which they won, and on the other ſide reckon up their loſſes, it will be found, that the former do, by far out-number the latter. And to extenuate thoſe loſſes, which they have received, I will not

not uſe mine own words, but thoſe of that Great Lord of Learning, the Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, who in an Epiſtle to King *Charles*, hath theſe words, *Haud igitur Committendum duxi, ut gentem noſtram, quam nullam unquam exterorum (quod ſciam) æqualis marte fudit manus, ita pro arbitrio obterent Galli.* He goes on further, *Cladem quidem plurimas accepiſſe M. Britanniæ Incolas, non negarim: ſed ubi præviarum angustiis, obſtructionibusque nullus idoneus ſatis, quo virtutem aſſererent, pateret locus, vel numero ſaltem longe inferiores hoſti fuerunt.* Either they were not of a fit number, or elſe taken in ſuch a place, and advantage, where their valour could but little help them. Exped. ad Ream Inſulam.

The greateſt loſſes and defeats, that the Engliſh have received, have been by the home-bred valour of the Scot; who with a ſmaller number, gave one of the greateſt Armies *England* ever raiſed, a terrible overthrow; but it was after the Scots had firſt as it were in a net taken and intrapt it. And yet let us add to this, the overthrow of the Engliſh by the Normans, (which how it came to paſs, I have ſhown in a particular Chapter) and all other their defeats, they will never amount to ſuch a bulk or weight, as to be able to ballance thoſe great victories which they before and ſince have obtained.

For what part of the World is there, that doth not bear witneſs to the Engliſh Courage? We have ſhown what they have been

been able to accomplish in *France*, *Spain*, the seventeen Provinces and *Scotland*: We might here add, that when the Discipline of War was as it were lost in *Italy*, Sir *John Hawkwood*, an English man brought it again thither. *Germany* will also acknowledge, that it received from the English Military knowledge, as well as Learning and Religion, after the Invasion of the Babarous. Nor is it to be omitted, what *Cambden* out of *Eginhardus* reports, that our Ancestors gave Original to the Saxons that inhabit the Dukedom of *Saxony*. And in that celebrated, and long War of the Holy-Land, there was not a considerable battel or siege, in which the English had not their share of glory. To this War *England* sent one King, and three Kings sons, accompanied with valiant followers.

Cambden.

Fuller.

The English King that undertook an Expedition to the Holy-Land, was *Richard* the first, more esteemed of by the Sarazens for his courage, than any other Christian Prince that had set on them; so that his name was terrible among them after he had left them. And how quickly did the English quell the Sicilians, and give Law to their celebrated Isle? They also overrun the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, (as it were) *in transitu*. In a word, so famous, and so much cryed up was the English valour formerly, that though *Henry* the eighth, when he invaded *France* the first time with an English Army, defeated the French in battel, took two strong Towns, and in that

War

War was wholly favoured by fortune in his Enterprises against that Potent Nation, without receiving any damage from the invaded: yet *Guicciardine*, speaking of this Army, saith, that *they came short of the fame of their hardiness*. This noble Hiſtorian belike, expected from our Nation greater exploits than from others. For what greater impreſſions did ever *Charles* the fifth followed by multitudes of Nations, make on the French Territories, than the Engliſh in this War. Our Nation, as all others, ſhould have had ſome ſmall time allowed it, to rouſe up its Courage, becauſe it had before been rendred by a long Peace ſomewhat unready for Arms. And *Comines* tells us, that *there is no Nation ſo ignorant and rude, as the Engliſhmen at their firſt landing in* France, *but in very ſhort time, they became excellent good Souldiers hardy and wiſe.* If we ſurvey the late Actions of the Engliſh, their preſent Military poſture, and withall conſider, that they are now poſſeſſed abſolutely of the whole Iſle, we ſhall finde cauſe to hope, that when they have digeſted their late great conqueſts, (for it were madneſs, *nova moliri, prioribus non firmatis*) and ſhall ſet on Forreign Enterpriſes, with compleat forces, they will go through as great warlick exploits, if not greater than ever yet they aimed at.

lib. 12.

l. 4. *c.* 5.

Tacit.

The whole Iſle being now united under one command (to uſe the words of the noble *Rawleigh*) *the Enemy, that ſhall dare to*

try

try our Forces, shall finde cause to wish, that avoiding us he had rather incountred a great a puissance, as was that of the Roman estate. To conclude, *England*, in its present state, is so strong (and yet it may be rendered more formidable) that it need not fear any thing that is humane.

CHAP

CHAP. X.

Of the Civil Wars.

AMongſt the Civil Wars of *England*, I ſhall onely chuſe to ſpeak of the laſt, and of thoſe but in a general way.

Before theſe Wars broke out, *England* had enjoyed an uninterrupted ſeaſon of peace, and that for ſo great a ſpace of time, that the oldeſt men, could not remember any War on Engliſh ground, to make a winter nights diſcourſe of; a felicity greatly talkt of, and for which our Iſle was much celebrated. But alas! how dreadful and how diſmal a ſtorm of War ſucceeded this ſerenity, which hath wholly altered the face of our *England*? Nor can we well tell, after all theſe quaſſations, and convulſions of that Earth on which we ſtand, whether it be yet firm, and will not leave us. But how was it poſſible that a Nation that had been inured to eaſe, could ſend out ſuch number of Souldiers, ſo readily, and on ſuch a ſudden? Where had they Arms? Where other warlike Proviſions? Who taught them the uſe of thoſe Weapons which they managed ſo dextrouſly for one anothers ruine? Certainly, as ſoon as ever the Trumpets ſounded to the Wars, the Engliſh courage rouſed it ſelf after ſuch a manner, as one would have thought it had never been laid aſleep by ſo long a peace.

There

There were several Armies (in which were very few or no Foreigners) on either side, and many strong parties besides dispersed over the whole Country. There was not a considerable Town in the whole Land, sometimes or other not made a Garrison, nor a field, that did not own some fight or skirmish. The Country was full of War, which did rage as well in obscure Villages, as greater Cities. As soon as ever their Armies were raised, and amounted to a just number they were brought into the field to fight it out. The *Cæsarians* and *Pompeians*, when they contended for the whole World, fought not more Battels, in the several Provinces thereof, then these two parties did in their narrow Lists, for the mastery. What was a wonder abroad, was none here, to have more then one Battel in a year; All manner of other warlike action was brisk. Either party, whether it were between full Armies, or smaller parties, or at an assault, contended with ardor and courage. They scorned to owe their lives to Armor, and sometimes would charge in their shirts with bravery and undauntedness. They ran on the mouth of the Cannon, nor did their great Souls fear to have their Carkasses torn in little peeces. Their charges were home, sharp and impetuous: And that party that obtained the Victory, was to shew the most of Vigor and Strength for it. They laboured to have the last shot, and would receive the first at a very near approach, without any fear, and not give a return till they came to the Enemies noses, and after their first shot

As at Oxford.

shot, throw their Pistols in the face of the Enemy, falling on him, with the utmost force, and resolution, as putting their safety in their purer courage. They did not (when they came to a pitcht Battel) pelt one another to death at a distance with the bullet, or interpose lined hedges, or make use of any such trifling, but disputed the Victory with the plainest and truest fortitude, the utmost policy, that was used in their fights, being a strong Reserve. They knew, that to put themselves on the defence, though helpt by all other advantages besides, was to throw away their best Card, would infuse into their Enemies a too dareing confidence, diminish their own, and lose the reputation of the War. Having once discharged their Guns, they joyn Body to Body, and Foot to Foot; relying on the But-end of their Musquets, or the more noble weapon, the Sword.

Ensis habet vires, & gens quæcunq; virorum est Lucan.
Bella gerit gladiis ——

They either bravely fell at their Enemies feet, when they had don their best to lay him at their own, or ascertained their own lives (thereby made more glorious and dear to them) by their happy Arms.

—Quid enim? concurritur, horæ Horat.
Momento cita mors venit, aut victoria læta.

They always chose to assault, if the Town were feasible; The besiegers rarely fortified

themselves at sieges with Works against their Enemy, but when he appeared for the relief of the besieged, he was presently met and fought with by them, who thought no Fortifications strong enough to defend them, and keep off such assailaints, who would attempt to the utmost, unless they brought as great and dareing a Valour. I shall acknowledge the English did not observe the nicities, and exactnesses of order so punctually lookt to abroad, but this is to be imputed *to a greatness of spirit in them, hardly to be broken or overcome.* We hear *Cæsar* in the Poet speaking to his Souldiers thus,

——— *Ite sine ullo*
Ordine, &c.——

And it is questionable, whether modern Policy doth not manacle, and too much restrain valour, and instead of making it more vigorous and effective, doth [illegible] depress and keep it under. This is most certain that that party: with us which had least of it, had the better success, and in that instant, when they were in a manner destitute thereof, obtained the victory.

War did not onely rage in all places at Land (and one would have thought the English could have minded nothing but Land-service) but also on the other element, which was covered with strong Navies: nay, one of the parties at this juncture of time increased and strengthened its shipping. Nor did the English onely shew that they had courage, but also that they could endure the greatest hardships, and suffer-

ings

ings of Wars: For the Winter of 1645, which was a very hard and bitter one, produced in this cold climate, so many fights, skirmishes and military actions, and so many several Towns at the same time were besieged, as shewed that these Wars were managed with no ordinary animosity. Presently after the death of the King, it was thought by a late Writer that the conquering party had lost 100000 men, that were slain in the Wars.

But why have we here dwelt so long, on this our late (if I may so call it) Civil Fury, especially when the pious *Lucan* relating his *Phasalian* Battel hath taught us this generous strain;

Hanc fuge mens partem belli, tenebrisq; relinque;
Nullaq; tantorum discat, me vate, malorum,
Quam multum bellis liceat civilibus, ætas.

CHAP. XI.

A Comparison between the warlick Actions of the English in former times, and those of the present Age.

THe Splendor of the English Arms in former Ages, though it may dazle our eyes, yet I know not why it should darken and wholy obscure the glory of the present times, or why we should be so unjust to our selves, as to diminish and lessen our own actions, that thereby onely we might flatter Antiquity, which having attained to a reverend and sacred name, needs it not; and stands upon so firm a Basis and foundation of its own, as it scorns all such poor and weak props. Let us rather preserve the memory of our Ancestors Actions, with a reverence and just admiration, and yet not at all fear to be able to come up to them, by answerable wayes, and a like industry; nor let us be so nice, and needlesly mannerly as not to lay hold on, and own that glory that is due to our own Exploits. It was excellent advice of B. *Johnson* to his noble youths;

It is a wretched thing to trust to reeds,
Which all men do, that urge not their own deeds
Up to their Ancestors.

Certainly, if the memorable performance

of our progenitors, are rare Jewels, and sweet remembrances to any, they are onely such to a Posterity that follows their steps, and performs Actions as meritorious, with which it hath no right at all to ancient glory.

We are now to examine how this present Age hath followed the Examole of their worthy Ancestors: and here certainly we shall finde, that as these have delivered over to us noble performances, and illustrious exploits for our imitation, so have we gone through those Actions which resemble theirs, and may together with them hereafter be an Ornament to a worthy Posterity. More especially in respect of Military Actions, this age hath acted so much, as without injuring Antiquity, may be remembred with those of former times. I will in a general way put them one by another, and leave it to others, to set what difference and rate, they please on them.

Our Ancestors excelled at the bow; we with the Gun, have made large acquests, brought home famous victories, and done exploits memorable, and such as in truth were beyond expectation. With the bow the English Conquered *France*, *Ireland*, *Cyprus*, brought under *Sicily*, carried the terror of their Arms into *Spain* and *Asia*, often fell on *Scotland*, and over-run and subjugated it by their Arms.

We with the Gun within a few years having tried one anothers vertue in a Civil War, have rouled up our sleeping Courage have

with success imployed our Arms against other Nations.

Ireland of late, when it was warlick and formidable, filled with strong Towns, and furnished with flourishing and great Armies made considerable by long experience, was not long in conquering by the English. Nor was this done as formerly by halves. The English not onely subdued the hardships, and inclemencies of that climate, but also beat the inhabitants out of the fastnesses and bogs of their Country, never before won from them.

In these times we see few such Territories either recovered, or conquered by Arms, now made slow, and blunted by the caution of modern Policy; yet having *Scotland* amongst the other Trophies, I know not why the vigor of our modern valour should be questioned whether equal to the ancient English prowess or no.

This Country was never wholy before subject and proved to our Ancestors harder to Conquer then *France*. The Panegyrist speaking to his Highness the Lord Protector tells him.

A race unconquered by the Clime made bold,
The Calidonians arm'd with want and cold,
Have by a fate indulgent to your name
Been from all Ages kept for you to tame.

Not onely the violences and hardships of the Clime, and the inaccessible strengths of the Mountains which reach the very skies, heretofore gave a stop to the Roman Eagle

and set bounds to the English valour, but the obstinate fierceness of the Inhabitants, who abroad were then tried up for their Souldiery, and were really endowed with as much resolution, and Military knowledge as those that fought under the noble *Walice* and fortunate *Bruce*, gave place also to the tried worth of this undaunted Age, and were subdued by the English.

The fortune of the English Arms, ended not here; they have with success fought with most of their neighbours, as French, Portugals, Spaniards, Dutch, and Africans.

The English Navy not long since sailed on the French Coasts, entred their Rivers unfought, and in the open Sea took a strong Fleet designed for the relief of *Dunkirke*, and thereby made them forgo that Town to the Spaniards.

And who will look on it as an ordinary exploit, for a Squadron of Ships to brave and block up *Lisbon*, intercept a rich *Brasile* Fleet, and besiege (as it were) the whole Kingdom of *Portugal* strong in Shipping, and then defended by a more numerous Navy, (able in appearance to have foiled them) and at last to force that Kingdom to terms, making it, after all its losses, to pay for its Peace with vast sums of Money.

But these last were Victories, for which in a manner the English did hardly Sweat. Till the Dutch entered the Lists, we thought our selves unfortunate, in having to do with Enemies that would not fight. They indeed proved gallant and brave, and maintained a war in every respect

ſpect remarkable. In it they were worſted. And yet it is queſtionable, whether men could have done more, not to have been beaten. But this I have ſpoken of elſewhere, therefore a ſhort remembrance ſhall ſuffice here.

If the Dane yeilded no victories, yet he bought his Peace.

Even *Affrick* produced proofs of the Engliſh valour, which at *Porto Ferino*, carried them through an Attempt, that had but few, if any Preſidents. An Engliſh Squadron of Ships here boldly enters this well munited Haven, burns a ſtrong Turkiſh Navy, placed under the command of a Caſtle, and many other Forts, filled with great Guns and Men.

And if in the *Indies* their Reputation was once ſtained, yet it hath begun to ſhew it ſelf there again, and being now well ſeated, may do the better for that Remembrance. *Thoſe unfortunate Woods of* Hiſpaniola, *like the Gallows under which the Romans once paſſed, may ſhame them into ſuch a height of Courage, as will be too great for the Enemy to oppoſe.* However, the Spaniard could take but little joy in that loſs of ours, having ſince for a long time been ſhut up by the Engliſh Navy, within his own ſcorching Climate, never having the heart to fight us, though provoked by ſeveral loſſes.

This is a ſhort Sum of the Actions of the preſent Age, which (no doubt) will be celebrated by Poſterity. Some there are which know not how to put a true value on them, and had rather be without Eyes, then ſee the good of their Nation, and without Ears, then

then hear its just Praises. To these I shall commend those Verses of *Martial*,

Non nostri faciunt, tua quod tibi tempora fordent,
Sed faciunt mores, Cæciliane, tui.

For my part, take my thoughts in the words of *Ovid*;

Prisca juvant alios, Ego me nunc deniq; natum
Gratulor.

The End of the First Part.

For my part, take my thoughts in the words

A DISCOURSE OF THE National Excellencies & Advantages OF ENGLAND.

The Scond Part.

CHAP. I.

Of the ſtrength of England.

IT is ſaid, that the Stars cannot exerciſe their influence on the ſphear of fire. Certainly the heavens do rarely look with a maligne aſpect on induſtry, and it is but ſeldom ſeen that God doth interpoſe his power to thwart an honeſt diligence, or if he doth, yet he rarely confounds it. So that Succeſſe is for the moſt part the companion of a reſtleſs induſtry; and there cannot

cannot but be hopes, whilst a man continues his endeavours; and the more, in that he will again assay, though he often before miscarried in them. Man for the most part fears himself too much, and represents things too difficult, whereas they commonly be so, but till they be set on, and become easie, as soon as taken in hand. It was a high strain of the Roman historian *Audeamus quod credi non potest, ausuros nos, eo ipso, quod difficillimum videtur, facillimum erit.* Difficulties are the common pretences and Bugbears of inglorious Sloth, but spurs and incouragements to a noble industry. *Coligni* Admiral of *France*, though he is beaten in six great Battels, yet such was the success of his industry, that he appears again in the field after each of them more formidable.. The Romans, being overthrown by *Hannibal* in three Battels (in the last of which they lost 88000 men) and reduced to the lowest ebb of Fortune, yet draw into the field the last man, and carry themselves with a greatness of spirit befitting Conquerors; for not content to defend *Italy* with sufficient Forces, they send several Armies in this their low condition into *Sicily*, *Spain*, *Sardinia*, and *Africa*; and by this their wonderful diligence recovered the state of their tottering affairs. And indeed experience hath all along confirmed, that industry is one of the most certain roads to success, and will quickly render a people strong, and bestow on them not a few other benefits.

Livius

Men must not only be industrious and active, but also trust in providence, which is the best

founda-

foundation of all actions. If men in these days (having greater helps) do not go through more notable enterprises, then formerly have been performed, it happens (as I take it) chiefly; because they have not the confidence and boldness of past Ages, and do not resign their affairs to the guidance of Heaven; out of a meanness of spirit, leaving as little as they can (if I may so express it) to the hazard of providence. Is it not a shame, that Christians, even in their distress, (when their confidence is at the highest) *with Jeash hardly shoot three arrows, whereas had they emptied their Quiver, they should have consumed their enemies*; and those that trust in the true God, should foolishly gaze at the exploits of Heathens, as unimitable, and not rather fall on actions that may darken and cloud the glory of their most celebrated Deeds? Beleeve it, a Christian State, that shall cast it self and affairs on the protection of Heaven, and then set on actions, correspondent to that Faith, that Religion enjoyns, shall prove invincible, and mount to a higher pitch of greatness and glory then ever yet was attained. For there is no religion in the World, which more cherisheth magnanimity in its people, and yeeldeth greater encouragement for the enterprising of difficult matters, then the Christian. Thus men, that have resigned themselves up to the disposal of providence, and committed their ways to God (who hath past his word, that he will give such the desire of their hearts, and direct their paths) will think nothing too difficult to go

through,

through, being backt by omnipotency, and assured that truth it self (which hath promised) cannot fail and deceive them. *David* inspired by a noble Faith, dareing to go against *Goliah* with but a Sling and a Staff, and with these brave words in his mouth; *I the day will the Lord deliver thee into my hands, &c.* appears no more a Stripling, but rather a Gyant, and the Gyant but a contemptible Boy to him: And though this Philistine comes against him, with a Shield, and a Speap, and a Sword, yet (methinks) *David* is the better armed, having the impregnable armor of a brave heart; and his mind seems as much too big for the Gyants, as the body of the Gyant was thought by the Israelites to exceed his. He that proceeds with the like boldness and confidence, that *David* did, shall finde answerable success, and overcome the most Gigantine difficulties. A noble Faith and trust in God, strengthens the hand, corroborates the heart, raises new spirits, and makes weakness an over-match for strength it self.

I shall not endeavor in any particular way to make it out, that the English are active and Mercurial, or that they in a more special manner own Providence (though abundance of matter offers it self to my hand) because they are things obvious to every eye.

The particulars that we shall insist on, under this head are these: First, we shall take a view of the Situation of the Country, then endeavor to examine the number of the Inhabitants fit for War, the ability of their bodies, and the strength

strength of their minds (namely their courage) Lastly, We shall survey their Forces by Sea and Land; which several particulars will take up this Chapter and the two following.

I begin with the Situation. By this *England* enjoys not onely many goodly Havens, and Ports, but also is rendred strong in shipping. And then *Bacon* will give you this remark, *That at this day, with most of* Europe, *the advantage of strength at Sea (which is one of the principal Glories of this Kingdom of* Great Britain*) is great; both because most of the Kingdoms of* Europe *are not meerly inland, but girt with the Sea for most part of their compass, and because the wealth of both Indies seems in a great part but an accessory of the command of the Seas.* And what greater prerogative can *England* have, then that being an Island, and strong at Sea, it is situated amongst those Nations that are girt with the Sea, and so most to be offended by its Navy? Again, if the Indies be an accessory to the Empire of the Sea, I know nothing but that *England* may be in as fair a way to be Master of them, as any other Nation whatsoever.

Nor doth the Situation give the advantage to the English of invading others onely, but also renders them strong on the defensive. The Invaders provision must be double, of what is required for the setting on a Country situate on the Continent. An Island hath no Borders: And every Nation keeps its fitting distance from it. The preparations for the invasions of an Isle must be so great, as cannot be hid. The way to assail it is but one, namely by Sea, which

the

the Enemy must be Master of, and keep himself so, and besides the casualty of other Wars, he must expect new ones, incident to the Sea. In a word, he that will overcome *England*, must first conquer the Elements, then its Navy, and at last, if he can yet go further, let him expect to meet, as great an opposition on Land, as in the invasion of any other Country whatsoever. The following Verses of the ingenuous Panegyrist to his Highness (methinks) very well express the advantage of our Situation.

Lords of the Worlds great Waste, the Ocean, We
Whole Forrests send to reign upon the Sea,
And every coast may trouble or releive,
But none can visit us without our leave;
Angels and we have this Prerogative,
That none can at our happy seat arrive,
While we discend at pleasure to invade,
The Bad with Vengeance, or the Good to Aid.

This for the Situation: Now we are to speak of the number of the Inhabitants fit for War; A matter very considerable, when the Discourse is of the Strength of a Nation. Multitude of Subjects is not onely the Glory, but also the Safety of a Prince. And what will the courage of a people avail, if they are but few? If any people could lay claim to an extraordinary Courage, the *Spartans* might, who yet perished and fell by reason of their paucity. But there is not a

little

little to be said for the English in this particular. The whole Isle (I include *Scotland* too, because it is united to *England*, and furnisheth it with as many Auxiliaries as the State can make use of) contains One thousand eight hundred thirty six miles in compass; and for such a quantity of ground is thick set with men. And which is more (such is the natural courage of the Inhabitants) it hath in a manner as many Souldiers as men. The populousness of *England*, may appear by the mighty improvements which of late have been made of grounds, and also by those Laws that have been made to restrain Building, Inmates and Cottages. Of all the Kingdoms of *Europe*, *France* (as I take it) is the most populous, and indeed by far outgoeth this Isle in number of men (if those are to be accounted such, that are not fit for the War) yet *England* hath more Souldiers then *France*. For that Kingdom at this day useth mercenaries, more then its own natural people, though of these (as it is said) it never had more, or better Souldiers then now it hath. Of the Germans, Switzers, English, and Italians it borrows Foot, and even its very Cavalry, in which that Country excells, consists very much of German horse: Nor is there hardly any Nation of *Europe* besides the English that useth not mercenaries. *England* hath a pure unmixed Militia of its own Natives. And it is found by experience, that it needs no foreign aids, but can on occasion supply its Neighbors plentifully with Souldiers. And what greater benefit can a Country enjoy, then to have its Arms in the

Cambden.

proper hands of its own people. But we may the better see the number of people (which *England* affords) fit for War by those Armies, that it hath been able to bring into the field. In *Richard* the Seconds time, 40000 Horsemen bravely appointed, resorted to him, within the space of three daies, for his defence against Rebels. In this Kings time also was an Army of 300000 English levied against the Scots. *Henry* the Eighth at one time carried over into *France* 40000 Foot, and 5000 Horse, and left his Kingdom guarded against the Scots by such forces, as did suffice to overthrow their Army, and keep them within their own limits. And at another time he besieged *Boloign* with 44000 Foot, and 5000 Horse. Q. *Elizabeth* to receive the Spaniard in 1588 dispersed 20000 men on the Sea-coasts, and kept in readiness two other Armies, the one of 23000, the other of 36000 men, besides other Companies of the Trained Bands, that also were under Ensigns. But these were nothing to what numbers we have seen in Arms at one time of English in the late Civil Wars in *England, Scotland* & *Ireland*. One of the parties (as a late Author computes) had at one time 150000 men under Ensigns. And certainly the other side could not fall much short. We may plainly perceive that our Country abounds in able and stout men, by this, that the English for these many Ages, have not relied on Fortifications, but their Men and Arms; not (as *Savage* an English Gentleman expresseth it) *in Castles of stone, but those of bone.* And it is thought by a late Author, that *this Common-*

Speed.

But about this read *Speed* in *Rich* 2.. *L. Herbert.*

Camden. D. *Heylin*

wealth, when invaded, is able to give twelve ſucceſſive Battels, each Battel conſiſting of 30000 *men.* The Duke of *Rohan* diſcourſing of the defence of States, divides them into theſe three Ranks, Small, Middle, and Puiſſant. A middle State he holds, is able to raiſe 20000 Foot and 3000 Horſe. Of the ſmall and Puiſſant, he ſets down no particular number; But certainly we may ſee by what hath been ſaid, that *England* ſo far exceeds the middle rank in Forces, that we may well aſſign it to be of the puiſſant, and of thoſe, give it one of the prime places. For it wants not number of men (if it will not be wanting to it ſelf) either to defend it ſelf againſt the power of the World, nor Armies (if put to it) able to purchaſe new Provinces.

This is quoted more fully in the next Chapter.

In the next place, for the Strength of the Engliſh Body, we ſhall ſay this: That the Engliſh generally are not of ſuch large limbs, as render them unmanagable, nor yet of mean and contemptible ſtatures, but of ſuch juſt porportions of body, as fit them for Action, and the Service of the Wars. Thus if you view the Engliſh Regiments, as they are on the march, you may obſerve an exactneſs in their making, and read in their equal proportions tokens of an active ſtrength. An Engliſhman is not ſo corpulent as the German, ſo low as the Frenchman, and yet is better made, and ſtronger knit then the Spainard, and it may be in a juſt proportion, is exceeded by no Nation. He cannot but appear to be ſtrong of body, if you conſider his Diet, being for the moſt part fleſh; or the manlineſs of his Exerciſes, as Wreſtling,

Cudgels, and especially Hunting, which is more used in *England* then elsewhere: or his Imployment; for the most part Husbandry, or Seafaring. Again it is affirmed, that the Bow requireth, of any Weapon the most strength to manage it, which if so, you may ghess at the more then ordinary strength of the English, who excelled at the Bow; and as some report, used also a Bow of a bigger size then others did. I will say no more of this particular; it will be more to the purpose, in my opinion, to make out the courage of the English: I shall therefore endeavor that in the next Chapter.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Engliſh Courage.

WE have already ſpoken of the Engliſh Courage in the firſt Part, when we inſiſted upon their Wars; yet having much more to ſay, we ſhall here add ſomewhat for the further Illuſtration of it, and aſſigne it a whole Chapter.

To ſhew the valour of the Engliſh, I ſhall uſe this method: Firſt ſhew their eſteem and love of honourable Wars andw arlike Princes; ſecondly, their manner of carrying on of their Wars, namely, by battels; thirdly, their way of fighting and ſtriking battels. I will then give Inſtances of ſome of their fights, and ſo conclude with the ſetting out of their Natural contempt of Death.

For the firſt, that they love Wars, hear Sir *Francis Biondi*, who diſcourſing of the Engliſh, ſaith, that *they being ignorant of other mens miſeries, When they have not their wonted Wars and Triumphs, think themſelves miſerable, whilſt in compariſon of as many as he knew, they were the happieſt Nation.* *Biondi's Civil Wars of England.*

But the following Storywill ſhew this to the life. Before the Battel of *Towton*, a Party of *Edward* the fourth's great and numerous Army, were cut off by the Lancaſtrians, which made *Habington, Ed. 4.*

him proclaim, that who had a minde to depart the Army, and not fight, should have free liberty, but not *one man* accepted so ignominious a leave. Every of them chose rather to die, then declare themselves so base Cowards. When *Gideon* made such a Proclamation, twenty two thousand of his Israelites left him, and but ten thousand remained by him, though he was to lead them against a Forreign Enemy, and their Oppressor. Again, when the English have had a Warlike and Valiant Prince, How hath he inflamed their Affections? When such a one leads them, they are Invincible, and wil do more then men. Under such an one, never did Nation attain greater Triumphs, and carry away more famous Victories, or perform more notable Actions. And you shall rarely read that they are beaten under a daring Prince. *Henry* the fifth, the glory of *England*, and of Monarchy, though he had but a crakt Title to the Crown, was loved with an ardency altogether transcendent, for his undauntedness and Courage. And *Henry* the eighth, though he put his people to frequent and hard trials, yet found them to the very last obsequious and loving; which happened because he was a Warriour, and carried his English into *France* to fight against their ancient Enemies. But what strange transports of Joy did Queen *Elizabeth* raise in her Army, when in 1588. she appeared in the head of them like an other *Pallas*? So little did they fear the Spaniards, that they Petitioned the Queen, that the Enemy might be permitted to land, that he might be

fought on English ground. Certainly, there is not a better way to gain the affection of the English, then to lead them to Forreign Wars. That Prince who hath herein pleased them, they have rewarded with new Provinces, and a larger Dominion, not only in Forreign Parts, but also at home, by bestowing on him their very hearts.

And here give me leave to observe, that the English have not onely loved warlick Princes, but also that they have been blest with a race of valiant Kings. Before the Conquest, from King *Alfred* downwards, the line of vertue and valor is rarely interrupted by a weak & dissolute Prince. And since the Conquest few unwarlike Princes have reigned over them. They have amongst their Monarchs very glorious and magnanimous Princes, and such as were renowned for the highest Courage, and herein no Nation in the World can excel them. In the Catalogue of their Norman Kings, they have these Illustrious Names: *Will. Rufus*, *Henry* the first and second: *Stephen*: *Richard Cœur de Lion*: *Edward* the first, third, fourth and sixth: *Henry* the fourth (who with his own hands in a battel killed thirty four men) *Henry* the fifth, the Darling of *Mars*, *Henry* the seventh and eighth, and the most renowned *Elizabeth*, *De quâ nunquam ita magnifice quidquam dicimus, quin id virtus superet ejus.*

2. And now we are come to speak of the manner of carrying on of Wars in *England*, namely, by battels. But first I shall observe, that the Romans, who are celebrated above any other

Nation for Military Discipline, and were endowed with a Noble Courage, rarely refused to joyn battel with any Enemy, and were alwayes ready to come to handy strokes, proceeding in their Wars, with more Resolution, and less Policy, then is now used in most places. Other wayes are but triflings and prolongers of that misery, which for its unnaturalness can never be too short, whereas this is the more gallant, the more speedy, and less bloody one. And this was the method of *Cæsar*, the greatest example of Military worth. Of whom it was said by the Poet in his Civil Wars of *Rome*;

Lucan. ——— *Capere omnia Cæsar*
Mœnia Graiorum spernit, Martemq; secundum
Jam nisi de genero, fatis debere recusat.

And then this, there can be no greater evidence of a National Courage. Who will deny that people to be valiant, that in all Ages, in all Wars, and on all occasions have desired battel, and decided their quarels that way? And certainly in this respect the English are not excelled by any; for being edged by a natural bravery, they are restless, till they look the Enemy in the face, and in fight try his mettle, and thus what others make their last remedy, they they begin with. In the Civil Wars between the two houses of *York* and *Lancaster*, in which were slain two hundred thousand of the common people, besides, a great number of Princes, Nobles and Gentlemen, and in which (as *Comines* relates) all in

a manner both of the one party, and the other were ſlain, you ſcarſe read of one Town beſieged, but of *frequent pitcht battels*, in which ſo much blood was ſpilt, as is queſtionable whether more was ever ſpilt in any other War after ſuch a manner. And alſo in the late Wars that the Engliſh have had amongſt themſelves, and with the Iriſh, Scots, and Dutch, there were more battels by far fought at Sea and Land, within the ſpace of twelve years (in every of which the Engliſh made up both Armies, or at at leaſt one, without any addition of Auxiliaries) than were ſtricken in that ſpace of time in the whole neighbourhood about us, though war had overſpred it wholy. *Comines* having in the ſeventh Chapter of his third Book, ſpoken of Engliſh Affairs, concludes the Chapter in this ſolemn manner: *I will here end my Diſcourſe of theſe Engliſh Affairs, till time and occaſion ſerve in ſome other place, onely adding this, that of all Nations in the World, the Engliſhmen are moſt deſirous to try their quarrels by dint of Sword.* And *Barcley* of the Engliſh, *In homines ſæviunt, non in opes, & tecta. Et ſubitæ acies adhuc crudas ſurgenteſq; lites dirimunt.* They in their wars, fall on men, not on walls, or riches. And ſudden battels end their quarrels, as ſoon as begun. And *Biondi* hath theſe advantagious expreſſions of the Engliſh, that *they covet battel at all times and in all Wars, as well Civil, as Forreign; they are by nature ſtern to their veſſelves, as are their Cocks and Dogs, that ſuddenly fall to, and give not over, but by death, or*

want

want of breath. The same Author in another place, sheweth, that it was in the power of *Edward* the fourth to have starved the Enemies Army, but yet he chose rather to reduce it by Arms; and further observed, that such *Fabian Wars* were seldom seen in *England*.

The manner also of striking battels with the English, sheweth their extraordinary valour, and is, in the opinion of many men, the best. They receive the Enemies shot, let him be never so neer, (if it be possible) before they return theirs. They give but one volley, but it being in the very noses of the adverse Party, must necessarily fall out to be very effective. Having with a Military cry saluted their Enemy, and discharged their Guns, they run to assault him, and bestow such an impetuous shock on those who oppose them, that rarely permits the victory to hang long in suspence. In Forreign parts, this course is not so much followed in their fights, where the Commanders bring up the last man of their Army to discharge his Musket, and thus sometimes do they decide the battel *cum missilibus*, like the skirmishes of the Parthian, which the Poet thus describes;

Lucan. *Pugna levis, bellumq; fugax, turmæq; vagantes,*
Et melior cessisse loco, quàm pellere miles.
—— nec martem cominus unquam
Ausa pati virtus, sed longè tendere nervos,
Et quæ ferre velint, permittere vulnera ventis.
Credis, magne, viros quos in discrimine belli
Cum ferro venisse parum est?

This

This manner of fight, at a diſtance, the great Roman Hiſtorian tels us, did rather encourage to the fight, then work any great effects. His words are theſe, *Velites primo miſſilibus territabere: deinde emiſſis levibus telis, quæ irritare potius quàm decernere pugnam poterant, gladios nudant.* Our Anceſtors alſo, though they were ſo famous at the Bow, did never wholy decide any one battel (as I take it) with that weapon. The Lord *Herbert* obſerves out of the Spaniſh Hiſtorians, *that the Engliſh Archers to the number of five thouſand,* (part of a greater Army, that came to the aſſiſtance of *Ferdinand* King of *Arragon*, in the year 1512) *beſides their Bows and Arrows, carried Halberts, which they pitcht on the ground, till their Arrows were ſhot, and then took up again to do execution.* And this he calls an excellent part of Military Diſcipline. And that the Engliſh made leſſer uſe of the Arrow, and more of the Halbert or Sword, I ſhall alledge, the teſtimony of our Noble *Rawleigh*, *It was the cuſtom* (ſaith he) *of our Anceſtors to ſhoot, for the moſt part, point blank, and ſo ſhall he perceive that will note the circumſtance of almoſt any one battel.* (He goes on) *And when two Armies are at the diſtance of a Buts length, but one flight of Arrows, or two at the moſt, can be delivered before they cloſe.* *Livius.*

And though we would think that the Engliſh, who did excel at the Bow, ſhould have been deſirous to fight at a diſtance, that they might have made greater execution on their Enemy; yet we may finde, that of their own accord, (when belike they had made but one

flight

flight of Arrows) they chose to close with the adverse Army, and thereby they have gained no small advantage in the fight, as at the Battel of *Agen-Court*, where they obtained the victory, chiefly by their sudden joyning with the French Army, which stood still to receive them. And certainly we shall finde in History, that the Romans (the best Masters of Discipline) suddenly joyned with the adverse Party, and came to trial with their Swords. Authors who describe the Romans setting on their Enemies, express it after this manner; *in hostem concurrunt: cursu invadunt hostem: cursu effuso in hostem feruntur.* This makes me the rather bold to commend the way of giving Battels used by the English, because it seems agreeable to the Roman Discipline.

I am in the next place to pick out some fights of the English to evidence their valour. My first Part so abounding in such Instances, I shall therefore be very brief here, and give you but three Examples.

And first we will see the valour of the English in a smaller Party. This we cannot do better then in the Sea-fight of Sir *Richard Grenvile* in a Ship of Qu. *Elizabeth*, called the *Revenge*, against a great Navy of Spaniards. *This Knight* (saith the great *Bacon*) *maintained a fight memorable, beyond credit, and to the height of some heroical fable, and though it were a defeat, yet it exceeded a victory, being like the Act of Sampson, that killed more men at his death, than he had in the time of all his life.* This single Vessel was fought with, in turns, by fifteen

other

other great ships, part of a Navy of Fifty five ships in all. Amongst the Fifteen, was the great St *Philip* of 1500 Tuns, Prince of the Twelve Sea Apostles. In the *Revenge* were but 200 men, Dr. *Heylin* saith but 180. Eighty whereof were sick on the Ballast, yet though they entered her on all sides, her men repulst and beat them back, and when they came in with new and fresh men, they were continually kept off with great slaughter for the space of fifteen hours, in which the *Revenge* sunk two of their best ships (*Heylin* saith four) and tore divers others, and killed 1000 men. And when it was reduc't to but one barrel of Powder, it yeelded on honourable terms; but being extraordinarily torn and harrased by so desperate a fight, it was never carried into *Spain*, as a Trophee, being sunk, in the Sea, having first *to the full answered its name*. It indeed was lost, but we may say with *Lucan* in a like case,

Heylin.

Cambden.

Hoc tamen in casu, quantum deprensa valebat
Effecit virtus.

If in a greater party you would behold the English resolution, we will refer you to the rebellion of *Norfolk* under *Ket*; you will never be able to judge, whether were greater, the desperate assaults of the Rebels, or the skilful valor of the Royalists. The City of *Norwich* is several times won and lost by either party. Both sides fought with an undaunted courage, and a notable bravery, and yet (which is remarkable) with variety of Fortune. In this civil

civil Broil, Sir *John Hayward* reports, that *the Rebels, that in fight were disabled to hold up their weapons, would yet strive what they could to strike their enemies: Others being thrust thorow their bodies with Spears, would run themselves further upon them to reach those, that gave them those wounds. And some Boyes would pull arrows out of their own flesh, and deliver them to the Archers to be shot again.* The Royalists especially behaved themselves with an extraordinary courage, and being hard put to it by the impetuous courage of their Enemies, they resolve not to give way to the utmost dangers, confirming this resolution by a commendable ceremony much used amongst the English, *Of kissing one another's Swords.*

Lastly, If we would see their Courage and vertue in compleat Bodies, and a just Army, the ensuing passage will shew it. The two factions of *York* and *Lancaster*, meet at *Towton*, where a great Battel is striken between them, *which lasted ten hours.* The Lancastrians at last had the worst of it, and yet do not flie. They give back, yet not as men overcome. They are closely followed, and resolutely set on, yet do they not run. They often reunite themselves, and though in weak Troops, make such resistance, as those of *York* could not be termed conquerors till the next day. Nor was this Battel onely resolutely fought, and long disputed, but also it was remarkable in the number of those that were slain in it, which amounted to 36770 men.

Speed. Biondi.

Amongst the Battels fought by the English,

you

you finde not the number of the slain to fall under *Thousands*. And though in their Fights, after the Victory is once obtained, the English use the highest clemency to the defeated and flying Enemy; yet do they dispute the victory with such obstinacy, that the Conquerour rarely carries away *Salmatida Spolia*, unbloody Victories, such as *Machiavel* relates were gotten by the Italians in their Battels, as amongst the rest, at the overthrow which the Florentines received at *Zoganara*, where he reports, *there died in all but* Lodovico de Gli Obizi, *with two others, that fallen from there horses were mired to death*: And afterwards in another Battel between the Venetians and Florentines, it was fought out by both Armies *for half a day, and yet there was not one man on either side killed in it*. Again, he that compares the Battels of the English amongst themselves, and their manner of warring, and those of the French, related by *Comines*, he will finde (in my opinion) some odds in respect of Valour. We will chuse out the Battel of *Mont'lhery*, fought by the French, and that of St. *Albans* by the English, that fell out not long after one another. Of the one, *Comines* relates, that though 12000 men revolted from *Henry* the sixth's Army to *Edward* the Fourth's, yet was the Battel cruel and bloody, commending it for a Field valiantly fought, but of the other (namely *Mont'lhery*) he saith, *Never was there so great a slaughter on both sides*, and afterwards (as I take it) in a merry way concludes that the field was well fought, and there

Machiav. Florent. hist.

Same Author.

were

were of both parties, that did their endeavour, some in fighting, and some in flying. And so throughout his whole History we may observe the French in their Wars used rather fine deliveries, and cunning contrivances to keep off dangers, whereas the English went so roundly to work, that the same Author acknowledgeth, that *in Ten dayes they would end their Wars*.

So clear and so great did the valour of the English appear to Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, that he was not afraid in a discourse thereof, to prefer it before the Roman or Macedonian. In particular, he chuseth out the most considerable Atchievements of that City, managed by the greatest Captain *Rome* ever had, viz. *Julius Cæsar*; and yet after a comparison (in the opinion of judicious men) not unjust and immodest, he makes them inferior to what the English have performed. I will not diminish the gallantry and excellency of that discourse by epitomising it, but refer the Reader to it, who if he be an Englishman, may well give it the reading.

But I cannot better shew the courage of the English, then by speaking of that contempt of death that is natural to them, and therefore I have designed the remainder of this Chapter, first to discourse of the excellency of this contempt of death, and then to shew that it is natural to the English.

Contempt of death, is the admiration of great minds, and meets with an applause and celebration from all men, not degenerated. There is

no

no ſtudy reputed more profitable, or indeed is more common then *Hiſtory*: Nothing in Hiſtory is more eſteemed then a Courage that contemns death. This makes men, when they read relations of the affairs of the World, out of a natural inclination, to pick out Battels, and Skirmiſhes, and Seiges, as the moſt delightſom parts thereof; and to imprint them in their minds with the more pleaſure. Nor is there any thing, that Authors more extol, then a valour contemning the utmoſt dangers. It was a glorious character, which *Lucan* gave the Britaines, and indeed was calculated for our Climate,

—— Certè populi, quos deſpicit Arctos,
Felices errore ſuo, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget letbi metus; inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris: Animaq; capaces
Mortis, & ignavum eſt redituræ parcere vitæ.

And the noble and generous Author of *Religio Medici*, expreſſeth himſelf thus; *I honour any man that contemns death; nor can I highly love any that is afraid of it: This makes me naturally love a Souldier, and honour thoſe tattered and contemptible Regiments, that will dye at the command of a Serjeant.*

This is the quality, that differenceth maſculine, and effeminate ſpirits: Theſe receive death with a tenderneſs and trembling; the others, undauntedly and with a kinde of triumphing bravery. Women, whom courage and contempt of death leaſt concern, yet moſt indulge them, and being in this reſpect, the beſt Judges,

think him not a compleat and perfect man, that fears to die. But indeed who are they that have not favourable thoughts of those that lay down their lives without any manner of fear? Even a Malefactor, though he hath justly deserved death, yet if he receive it manfully, and undauntedly, frees himself (as it were) from the suffering, makes the Spectators undergo his part, and thus instead of shame and disgrace doth truly triumph.

Man onely begins to live, when he dies; for in this world, to speak properly, man doth not live. Our flesh is the souls grave, and we then onely truly live, when death shall deliver us from this grave, and then onely shall we cease to die, when we shall be discharged, and freed from our flesh, the house and Mansion of death. *The soul* (saith the excellent *Mulvezzi*) *which is that, that understands, ought not to think of death, for she never dies; and if the soul doth not, the body cannot fear it, because it knows it not.* Death indeed, when cloathed with our sins, may then most justly (if at any time) appear horrid, yea the terrible of terribles; and yet even in this respect, we have no such great cause to fear it, but rather to bless God that we can die, and so cease to sin against our Creator. Methinks a man cannot in a more acceptable way glorifie his Maker, then by a chearful laying down his life, when called for. And this puts an higher price on his confidence and trust in the goodness of God, by how much the more horrid and uncertain the state of death seems. For this cause, God may have

have covered the face of death with a seeming gastlineſs and terror, *That by a noble faith, man might reſign himſelf abſolutely into the hands of God.*

Contempt of death, raiſes a man above the pleaſures, and even ſcorns the commodities (how conſiderable ſoever) of a frail life, and hath ſomething divine in it. How near doth it place a man to Heaven? Yes he, that is fearleſs of death, being diſ-intangled, and looſened from the world, with his ſoul, in a manner, already toucheth Heaven: For God rarely denies Heaven to thoſe that deſpiſe the Earth. At leaſt theſe men are out of the reach of humane calamities and miſeries. *Nuſquam eſt ille miſer, cui facile eſt mori.* It was an high ſtrain of *Lucan*,

Victuroſque Dei velant, ut vivere durent,
Fœlix eſſe mori.

Man doth cauſeleſly and fooliſhly complain of ſufferings, when he may rid himſelf of whatſoever makes life miſerable in a lawful and honourable War, *the only honeſt way of abreviating life.* And if he fails of this, he ſhall be ſure to be recompenced, *with a glorious, and renowned life.* As much as this, the Divine *Herbert* invites to, in his Church-porch.

Chace brave imployments with a naked ſword
Throughout the world. Fool not, for all may have
If they dare try, a glorious Life, or Grave.

That man, that *falls fighting the Lords Battels*, will appear (no doubt) *before the Lord of Hoſts* at the laſt day, with as much comfort as he who dies by the hand of a Feaver, or an Ague, or ſome ſuch ſoft kinde of death. Certainly, *God that vouchſafes to head Valour* (if I may ſo expreſs it) *in this world, will own it in the other.*

We having ſaid ſo much of this quality in general, come now to ſhew that it is naturally in the Engliſh. What ſtupendious examples to this purpoſe, do their Hiſtories afford? You may meet with many of other Nations, who with an admirable conſtancy, and an extraordinary bravery have received death; but where is the like example to that of Sir *Thomas More*, who being to receive his death by the Ax, yet in the very moment could play with it, and be truly merry and jocound?

Juvenal. ——— *Fortuna ipſe minaci*
Mandaret laqueum, medium q; oſtenderet unguem.

I. Herb. Hen. 8. Going up the Scaffold, on which he was to leave his head, he thus merrily accoſts a ſtander by, *Friend, help me up, and when I come down, let me ſhift for my ſelf.* Being mounted on it, he tells the Executioner, that *he ſhould never have credit by cutting off his head, his neck was ſo ſhort.* Then laying down his head on the block, he bids the Executioner ſtay till he had laid aſide his Beard, *For* (ſaith he) *that never committed Treaſon.* This man, that ſpends his laſt breath in jollity could have no fearful apprehenſion

henſion of death. But *Barcley* relates a more ſtrange paſſage of an Engliſhman, who being condemned amongſt other Souldiers, for ſome military miſcarriage, to draw lots for his life, went unappalled and drew a lot that ſaved his life, which having done, and ſeeing a Spaniard go trembling to take his, he agrees for a ſmall ſum of money, which amounted to but Ten Crowns, to draw for the Spaniard his lot, and having received the money, fearleſly goes once more, and draws another lot, which alſo proves a fortunate one. A Story truly admirable, were that unhandſom circumſtance of money left out of it. *David Gam* an Engliſhman, being ſent to view the French Camp before the Battel of *Agen-court*, ſaw the fields for a great compaſs filled with armed Troops not to be numbered. The gliſtering of thoſe Arms that were the next day to be bent againſt his breaſt, nor the number of the confident Enemy, did at all affright him, but rather poſſeſt him with a pleaſant idea; which the report that he brought to his King, ſufficiently teſtifieth; *There are enough* (ſaith he) *of the Enemy to be ſlain, enough to be taken priſoners, and enough to flie away.* This gallant could thus pleaſe himſelf with the conceit of Victory, when reſolved to loſe his own life, as indeed he did, fighting valiantly in the firſt Ranks. I will onely add to theſe one ſtory more, and that is of *John* Lord *Talbot*, Viſcount *Liſle*, Son to the great *Talbot* Earl of *Shrewsbury*, who was ſlain at the Battel of *Chaſtillon*. The young Lord was in the flower of his Youth, unhurt;

Barcl. Icon animorum.

Sir Wal. Rawleig hist. of the World.

and might have escaped from this Battel, and his Father foreseeing the loss of the Battel, and not meaning to stain his actions past, with flying in his old age, exhorted him to leave him, and save his life; but the generous Youth, chose rather to imitate his Father, then obey his desire: He died by his side, though not without revenge; for he fell valiantly fighting with his sword all bloody; a kinde of death that Sir *Walter Rawleigh* preferred before that of *Æmilius* at the Battel of *Canna*.

Botten.

Authors have much celebrated this quality in the English. One saith, *Angli intrepidi nec mortis sensu deterrentur.* Sir *Thomas Smith* in his Commonwealth of *England* affirmeth, *That in no place shall you see Malefactors go more constantly, more assuredly, and with less lamentation to their deaths then in* England. And saith he in another place, *By the Law of* England *men are not by torments to be compelled to confess when they are accused of any great offence, BECAUSE THEY DO NOT AT ALL FEAR TO DIE.* And the Author of *Oceana* (and for what people, he framed his Commonwealth, cannot be unknown to any, that have read him) did well understand the nature of his Oceaners, whom when invaded, *he appoints to fight it out to the very last, and to strike twelve successive Battels, each consisting of* 80000 *men, and to bring the last man in the Nation to the Battel, to the end* (as he adds generously and religiously) *that the Commonwealth in her utmost pressure, may shew her trust, that God in justice will remember mercy, by humbling*

her

her self, and yet preserve her courage, and disciplina even to the last drop of blood, and the utmost farthing. *Barcley* in his *Icon Animorum*, speaking of the English Genius, expresseth himself thus; *Discrimina omnia, & adeo mortem, impetu plus quam judicio spernunt. Et hinc utilissimos militum dixeris, ubi Ducum suorum consilio reguntur: sua autem sponte ruentes; & illa audacia caligine pleni, de se sapius post funestos exitus queri, quam de fortuna debuerunt.* This Author would have those losses which the English have received, to proceed from a too desperate resolution and contempt of death, which when it is well governed (he grants) renders them the most useful Souldiers. I know he qualifies this with *impetu plus quam judicio*; But probably he would have spoken the same of the death of *Socrates*: For some will say of hardiness, with *Malvezzi*, that it *is a kind of madness, consisting happly in a hot distemper of the Brain, which permitteth no consideration or discourse of the danger of death.* But let this quality proceed whence it will, it is a real and glorious one, and as much as this *Malvezzi* himself acknowledgeth. And whatever *Barcleys* judgement was in this matter, Sir *Francis Biondi*, that noble Italian, in his preface to the Civil Wars of *England*, delivereth himself after this manner, I will take my rise from the Civil Wars of *England*, which will shew unto us, that Nature to render this people valiant, took from them the apprehension of death, the onely thing that makes men base and cowards. And *Polidore Virgil* speaking of

David Persecut.

the Engliſh ſaith; *Angli tamen, qui ſuapte natura etiam in morte animo concedere non ſolent, totis viribus connixi ſunt adverſam avertere fortunam* &c.

The Engliſh are a people not at all enſlaved or inthralled, or under any preſſing neceſſity, or cruel deſpair, but enjoy all the bleſſings that a Nation is capable of. And yet (which is truly wonderful) they meet death without any manner of fear, when it comes to do its hateful office, and chearfully forſake the delights of humane life, and the pleaſures of a good Country, and give themſelves up to the power of the greateſt of terrors, entering into the darkneſſes of death, ſo loathſom to humane nature, with boldneſs and chearfulneſs. And now,

——— *Proh quantum eſt gloria genti*
Injeciſſe manum fatis, vitáq; repletos
Quod ſupereſt donaſſe Deis! ———

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Engliſh Forces.

EXtraordinary and very conſiderable are thoſe Advantages which our Nation enjoyeth in reſpect of its Forces both at Sea and Land.

For Potency at Sea, this Iſle hath of old been much celebrated. The very Britains (ſo ancient is the Naval power thereof) maintained the Soveraignity of their Seas; And ſo did the Saxons after them. And in truth, this Iſle hath preſcribed in all Ages for the Dominion of thoſe Seas that incompaſs it. *Seldeni Mare Clauſum.*

Again, *England* hath alwayes bred excellent Sea-men, witneſs their conſtant good ſucceſs. They have in all Ages been of a clear fame, and brought home victory at laſt to their Country, (as I take it) from all Wars managed on the water.

Our Nation indeed, in former times was wont to hire their Veſſels from others, which yet they manned with Engliſh bodies. *Henry* the eighth began to build ſome Royal Ships, but his daughter had the honour to ſet out the firſt Royal Navy. It indeed numbred but thirty, but this again ſhe ſupplied and increaſed (as ſhe pleaſed) out of her Subjects Ships, which upon the abridging the *Eaſterlings* of their

their Priviledges, and her allowing out of the Exchequer a proportionable ſum of money towards the building of great Merchants Ships, grew numerous and warlike. This glorious woman (amongſt other felicities) attained to that ſtrength at Sea, as to be able with her Sea-Forces to worſt, not onely the Invincible Armado of Spain, but alſo maintain the Empire of the Seas, make all Forreign Ships vail to her in the Britiſh Ocean, and victoriouſly ſail in this & all other Seas, even to the *Indies*. *Keckerman* ſaith of her time; *Hoc certum eſt, omnibus hodie gentibus navigandi induſtriâ & peritiâ ſuperiores eſſe Anglos, & poſt Anglos Hollandos.* Her Succeſſor King *James* little minded the Sea, and had almoſt loſt the Dominion thereof to the Dutch. But King *Charles* ſtrengthened his Navy very much, (for by him moſt of the firſt and ſecond rate Ships now in being were built) and ſo gave ſome ſtop as it were to the Dutch Progreſſes. But of late *England* hath out-gon all former Ages in Naval Glory and Potency. This will not be denied, if either the ſtrength of the Ships, (which will put the wit of Poſterity to the rack to mend) be reſpected, or the courage, skil, and ability of the Seamen. So dextrous are the Engliſh at the Sea-Service, that in a fight, they are able to diſcharge a piece of Ordnance twice to one time that the Dutch can; ſo that the Dutch (as I have heard) have this ſaying, that *the Engliſh Seaman is born with a* * *Ladle in his hand.*

* *An Inſtrument uſed in the charging of Ordnance.*

About the concluſion of the late Dutch War, the Engliſh had attained to ſuch a Power and Reputation

Reputation at Sea, and ſo great was the ſucceſs of their Fleets, that they appeared not onely Maſters of their own Seas, but in a manner Soveraigns of the whole Ocean. And if you look on them at that time, not onely as incompaſſed with the ſtrongeſt Navy, but alſo defended with numerous and tried Armies, they would certainly, in a right judgement have come behinde no Nation (how great ſoever) for National greatneſs and ſtrength.

At the preſent, I ſee nothing but that the Engliſh Navy is the ſtrongeſt in the world. In any Seas yet diſcovered, not one will appear a fit Competitor with it, unleſs it be the Dutch, nor that hardly, till it hath recovered the ſtrength and name which it loſt in the late War.

The Commonwealth at preſent hath about two hundred Sail of as warlike Ships as ſwim on the waters, and in this number I reckon none but ſuch as peculiarly belong to the State; the greateſt part whereof, were built a little before the Dutch war, or in it, or elſe in fight taken from the United Provinces.

I am now come to ſpeak of the Land-Forces. We will in the firſt place ſurvey the Engliſh Cavalry, which I dare ſay is in nothing contemptible, but on the contrary, every way formidable. *England*, that formerly relied wholy on its Infantry, and beleeved the other part of an Army could hardly be raiſed out of its Dominions, hath now numerous Troops of gallant Horſe-men. The Horſe, I write this while I have them, (as it were in my eye) are ſtrong and

and luſty. And the men ſeem reſolute and able. And in my opinion, the whole World cannot ſhew more ſerviceable bodies of Cavalry. Of late they have given notable proofs of their ſufficiency, ſo that we may well have favourable thoughts of them, and take up no ſmall hopes, that for the future, they will deſerve well of their Country.

But for an Infantry, *England* is not to be excelled. While the Bow was in requeſt, the Engliſh were counted the beſt foot, and notably celebrated for their skill in uſing the Bow. And this *Comines* will teſtifie. *In the day of Battle* (ſaith he) *thoſe that are unuſed to the Wars, will perform more then thoſe that have been long trained up therein; this is the Engliſhmens opinion, who are the beſt Archers in the World, Et auſſi telle opinion tienent Anglois, qui ſont la fleur de Archiers du Monde.* And *Polydore Virgil* gives the Engliſh this commendation; *Cæterum bello intrepidi, Optimi ſagittarij, ac in militia morâ impatientes, & idcirco, ubi ad arma ventum eſt, ſtatim de omnibus fortunis alterius partis dimicatur.* And ſince the Gun came into uſe, the Engliſh have ſhewn themſelves as good Foot as any in the World. *Henry* the eighth, in whoſe time the Gun was cryed up, carried all before him in *France*, and other places, with his Engliſh Footmen. And in the Reigns of *Edward* the ſixth and Queen *Mary* they gave remarkable proofs of their worth. But in Queen *Elizabeths* time, they were eſteemed a moſt excellent Infantry. Cardinal *Bentivoglio*, ſpeaking of that Princeſs, gives this teſtimony of the Engliſh, *that the*

Queen

Queen furniſhed the Hollander with the beſt Foot: He adds, *The Engliſh have always been the beſt Foot-Souldiers of their Army.* And now, if the Engliſh were the beſt Infantry of that Army, they were as good, if not better, then any that came to that war. And if ſo, as good as any in the World. But in their Civil Wars, and thoſe other Actions, which the Engliſh of late have had with other Militia's (let them have to do with what Nation ſoever) they have been the more ſucceſful party in the Wars, in which their Infantry have not gone away with the leaſt glory. Nor is there any Nation that hath ſent forth more excellent bodies of Infantry, on more noble accounts, for the aid of their Allies. And this I look on as one of the greateſt points of Reputation to our Nation. The Houſe of *Burgundy* conſtantly made uſe of the Engliſh Archers, and were notably well ſerved by them. The *Portugals* with good ſucceſs have been aided by them againſt the Caſtilian. The King of *Arragon* obtained *Navarr* by their aſſiſtance. *Brittany* was for ſome Ages preſerved from the French by them. *France* had been devoured by the Spaniard, had not the Engliſh ſtruck in with their aid to *Henry* the Great. The united Provinces vindicated their liberty, chiefly through their valour. And at this day, *Sweden* and *France* are well ſerved by the Engliſh *Auxiliaries.*

The number of the Horſe and Foot at preſent in Pay to this State, amounts to about forty thouſand, beſides what it hath

in

in the *Indies*, and doth afford to other States.

England hath the advantage of almoſt all Nations, in the Election of its Souldiers. Our State, like that of *Rome*, may take whom, and as many as it pleaſeth. And as much as this the Duke of *Rohan* obſerves of our Country. *England*, (ſaith he) *which hath right by the Laws of the Kingdom to make choice of her Souldiers, may obſerve the form of Election of the Romans, which is very good. The other Kingdoms, which have not that power, muſt incite their men which are ambitious of honour to cauſe themſelves to be inrolled.*

Compleat Captain.

Again, It is likely for the future, that the Engliſh will have a veteran Army alwayes on foot; and it is the thoughts of ſome, that without this *England* can neither be potent nor ſafe. *Cambden* brings it in as the judgement of Queen *Elizabeths* time, *Angliam nunquam ſecurè tutam eſſe niſi cum armata ſit, & potens.* And *Bacon* wiſely pronounceth *that the ſtrength of a veteran Army alwayes on foot (though it be a chargeable buſineſs) is that which commonly giveth the Law, or at leaſt the reputation amongſt all neighbour States.*

Cambden An. p. 116

Beſides this, there is a ſtrict and excellent Diſcipline obſerved in the Engliſh Militia. A military offence is unpardonable. Hence it rarely happens, that there are any plunderings or abuſes committed by the Souldiers where they quarter, that no murmurings and complaints of the people are heard againſt the Souldiers for their miſcarriage, and that puniſh-

ments

ments in our Armies are seldom seen. The offending Souldiers had rather fall into the hands of a Civil Magistrate, then under the Laws of the Army, so severe are they esteemed by them.

Our Countrey needs not be beholden to any other for any part of an Army, being able to raise, within its Dominions, all parts thereof both for Sea and Land, and those also, that (it may be) cannot be bettered in the whole world. The Duke of *Rohan* having in his Compleat Captain, related that *the Switzers make use of their own men, the Venetians and Hollanders in imitation of the Carthaginians, are served with Auxiliaries, that the French and Germans abound in good Souldiers, and may well forbear Auxiliaries, concludes that* England *alone, of all the States of our time, may chuse them, and take such as she pleaseth.*

Nor doth *England* onely abound in a good Infantry, an able Cavalry, and in skilfull Mariners and Seamen, but also can furnish it self out of its own Dominions, with almost all manner of Warlike Furniture, and is necessitated to fetch but very little from Forreign parts.

And now I have gone through those particulars, which I had assigned to speak of, concerning the strength of *England*, I will only give you the judgement of the Lord *Bacon* in this Case concerning *England*, and then conclude. *For greatness, I think,* (saith this excellent man) *a man may speak it soberly and without bravery,*

that

that this Kingdom of England, *having* Scotland *united,* Ireland *reduc'd, the Sea-Provinces of the Low-Countries contracted, and ſhipping maintained, is one of the greateſt Monarchies in Forces, truly eſteemed, that hath been in the World. For certainly,* (as he adds) *the Kingdoms here on Earth have a reſemblance with the Kingdom of Heaven, which our Saviour compared not to a great Kernel or Nut, but to a very ſmall Grain, yet ſuch an one as is apt to grow and ſpread. And ſuch do I take to be the conſtitution of our Kingdom, if indeed we refer our Counſels to greatneſs and power, and not quench them too much with conſiderations of utility and wealth.*

Certainly, theſe Conditions, which this great Lord required to make *England* one of the greateſt States in Forces truely eſteemed, do at this preſent, (if I am not miſtaken) all meet in *England.* For *Scotland* is united, *Ireland* reduc'd, the Sea-Provinces of the Low-Countries contracted (if not in Territories, yet in reputation at Sea) and ſhipping is maintained. And all this is brought about in ſuch a way, as that good Patriot, who ſeemed (when alive) to be mightily intent on the good of his Country, could not have wiſhed it in a better manner. Withal a great Revenue is ſetled, and a veteran Army alwayes ready under Enſigns. So that ſhould that ingenuous Italian bring *England* to the Scales again, it would weigh much

Bocalin.

much more *then sixteen millions* which he assigned it in its flourishing Age. To conclude, the Duke of *Rohan*, in a time when *England* was (as I take it) in a declining condition, could say, that *it was a mighty Animal, that could not die, unless it killed it self.* And in the late wars, though it performed the utmost that Courage could do to destroy it self, yet as soon as ever the rage of the war was over, it was the more glorious and strong.

Interest of Princes.

M CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Commodities of the Soil, and Advantages peculiar to England.

THose antient Authors, who wrote of this Isle, before the Romans set foot in it, delivered it for a flourishing one, sought for the most glorious titles wherewith to adorn it, and with one consent acknowledged it *the Queen of Isles*. But the Romans in a more special manner celebrated it, giving it the titles of the *Roman Isle and Roman World*: Their Emperors (though Masters of other larger Provinces) have at some times left them, and forsaken the body of their Empire to live in this remoter Country, chusing it before Italy it self to lay their bones in. The remoteness of this Province, put these Conquerors to a vast expence of Treasure, and the courage of the Inhabitants to a greater profusion of blood, keeping them in continual fights, and yet was it, never wholy conquered. They indeed reduced the better part of it to a Province, out of which they gained no small advantages. It was the *Granary of the neighbouring Provinces*, out of which were transported Eight hundred Vessels of corn for the supply of Germany. *Tacitus* acknowledgeth that it was gainful in Tributes, and yeilded good Revenues. And a Roman Panegyrist affirms, that that *Commonwealth received no smal loss in*

Cambden.

yearly

forgoing

forgoing only the name of Britain. It afforded also such warlike and strong bodies, that this Conqueror who had daily trial of them, levied as many Cohorts from hence, as out of any other Country; and at last left it so thin of men that it thereby became a prey to its after new Lords. And when the Roman Empire it self, gasping for breath, as in a dying man, where life first forsakes the remoter limbs, and retires to the heart, for the preservation thereof, had deserted this out-skirt, its beauty then brought in many a fierce Invader, whom innumerable slaughters and overthrows could not make to depart.

The Heavens, the Earth and the Sea strive, which shall bring most felicity and riches to the inhabitants: And thus the sweet influences of the Heavens conspire with the goodness and foundity of the Soil, to make the people blest in the fruits of the earth, while the Sea lovingly and strongly imbraceing their land, swarms most of any water with fish. Such is the attractiveness, and such the beauty of this Isle, that it is every day seen, that the very stranger that comes here to Travel or Trade, is in such a manner bewitched with the delightfulness and pleasures thereof, that he quickly forgets his own Country, and loseth that natural desire and love that every one beareth to his native Soil, in the stronger ravishments of this more blessed Land. *England* abounds not only with whatsoever is necessary for man, or may delight him, (and what commodities it wants, are but very few, and those not neces-

sary, as the Olive and Spices, which are proper for hotter Countries,) but also (besides that its native Commodities are enough plentifully to furnish it self, and supply the wants of other Countries) its shipping brings in the riches of the whole world, and what the greedy eye of man can covet in the furthest parts of the earth, floats hither in great abundance, and you would think the spoils of the whole Creation have their store-house here. This Isle cast in a narrow compass, hath whatsoever considerable blessing, the greater World can boast of, and looks rather like another world then an Isle, according to a modern Poet.

* Nature. *Thee therefore from the rest apart * she hurl'd,*
And seem'd to make an Isle, but made a World.

Put together its internal riches, and external helps, and even in this respect (it may be) it comes behind no Country in the World. Indeed, he were in mine opinion stark blind, that did not see many particular advantages, that other Countries have of our *England*; yet surveying all its excellencies and prerogatives, and those peculiar ones, that it hath of other Lands, I know not, why I may not affirm, that

Juvenal. *Omnibus in terris quæ sunt à Gadibus usque*
Auroram & Gangem.

amongst all Nations, there is not one, that in a just comparison will out-go it.

The Inhabitants of this Isle, enjoy their Country, and the good things and blessings thereof

thereof, with the greateſt liberty, equality and encouragement. And without theſe, what are all the moſt glorious enjoyments of the world? what's a fruitful ſoil that yeelds plentifully all ſorts of grain, that affords in abundance all manner of proviſion, if ingroſt by a nobility, or reſerved onely for the Table of the Gentry? If we muſt beleeve, that a people are rich, and have a bleſſed Land, then ſhew them well cloathed, well fed, lay before us thoſe priviledges which they enjoy, thoſe encouragements, whereby they may comfortably ſit under their Vines, and poſſeſs the bounty of Heaven. But how few are there, ſhould we ſurvey the whole world, that with the Engliſh, not onely have a plentiful Country, but enjoy it in ſo free, equal, and contented a way?

I might make a diviſion, almoſt of all other Nations of the World into theſe two parts; Either they are ſuch where one perſon is abſolute Lord of the peoples lives and goods, as in *Turky* and *Muſcovy*; or elſe ſuch, where the King and his Nobility keep in their own hands the greateſt part of the Poſſeſſions, Lands and Riches, leaving the people not enough to maintain them in as good condition as beaſts. Even in *Europe*, that part of the world (though leaſt) which lives in a greater liberty then all the other, the Nobility in all places almoſt monopolize thoſe bleſſings which the divine bounty hath diſtributed with a liberal hand, and make them run in narrow channels, whilſt the people in the midſt of plenty are expoſed to wants and preſſures, and afforded miſerable

gleanings. Nay, pick out the choicer parts of *Europe*, as *Italy*, *France* and *Spain*, Countries (that one would think were) so rich, as to be the envy of others, yet the common people go barefoot, and are ragged to nakedness, and feed hardly.

Whilst it is not thus in *England*: Here is no overgrown Nobility, to depress and begger the people; no absolute Lord, that at his pleasure seiseth any mans Vineyard, or takes away his life; people suffer not here, but for those offences, which themselves, led by their own reason and genius, have made capital. And yet on the other side, this Isle, with that Stock, that God hath bestowed on it, not onely maintains a competent Nobility, sufficient for its glory and use, in a fitting splendor, who do not overburthen and begger the Commonwealth, but also a gallant Gentry of fair Revenues, who are so dispersed over the Land, that it may best of any, appear to be *a Land of Gentry*, there being not the least Village, in which some Gentleman or other doth not inhabite, having large possessions. It is, as I take it, almost peculiar to *England*, what Judge *Fortescue* affirms of it, namely *Villula tam parva invenire non poterit, in qua non est miles Armiger, aut pater familias &c. possessionibus dives magnis.* And besides all this, and which is most considerable, it yeelds another sort or rank of men hardly known abroad, *The Yeomanry, a most ingenious sort of Husbandmen.* These *Cato* calls, *Optimos cives in Rep.* And *Aristotle* affirms, *Agricolarum resp. optima.* These men most in-

rich

rich our Country in time of peace, and are the glory of our Armies in War. *In times past* (saith Sir *Thomas Smith*) *they would die all, rather then once forsake the Knight or Gentleman their Captain.* The English policy doth much indulge them, so that they live here in plenty and credit, and some of them having good estates, chuse rather to be esteemed Yeomen then Gentlemen.

In a word, all sorts of people, even those that are inferior to the Yeoman, live plentifully in *England*. The Plough-boy and Swineheard are warm clad, and well fed. The day Laborer lives merrily, and out of his gains maintains his Family in an indifferent plentiful manner. The Artificer hath all necessaries about him, and enjoys himself with comfort, nor is there any man kept from prospering, none are excluded from the common blessings and bounties of God, but all are encouraged and assisted by the Laws in their honest endeavours, after wealth or any other lawful enjoyment. There is no Country (as I take it) that affords the people *that Table*, or allows them *that Livery*, that this small spot doth its *numerous Inhabitants*. What the holy Scripture saith of the children of *Israel*, may be applied to the English: *They were like the sand of the Sea* (saith the Text) *eating and drinking and making merry. God hath spread for us a rich table in the presence of our Enemies, and made our cup to over flow.* In all places is to be seen a *splendor and magnificency of Table*, and *an answerable shew and attendance of Servants.*

In the *Common Inn*, beſides that the Traveller meets with ſufficient plenty and commodiouſneſs, he is uſed with all liberty, ſafety, and reſpect, and herein no part of the world (excepting *France*) comes neer *England*. In other places you ſhall be entertained baſely and ſordidly, or beggerly and meanly, or imperiouſly and haughtily. In ſome Towns there, you are happy if you meet an Inn with all theſe bad qualities: ſo that I might compare the Hoſpitality of moſt places abroad, to that which the Gods met with, when they deſcended to the Earth.

Ovid. Met. l. 1. *Mille domos adiere, locum, requiemq; petentes,*
Mille domos clauſere ſeræ, tamen una recepit.
Parva tamen ſtipulis & canna tecta paluſtri.

You may write on the doors of their Inns, *hoſpitia calamitatis*. Withal every Gentlemans houſe here is a Mantion of hoſpitality, where the Stranger is entertained with a curteous and humane reception.

The *Air* of out *Climate* is healthy, and temperate, the *heat* of the *Summer, moderate*. The *dayes* thereof *long, pleaſant and delightſome*, a ſpecial prerogative to be boaſted of, *ſom people living longer dayes, then we Iſlanders*. And by reaſon of the incompaſſing Seas, the violence of the ſcorching Sun, is repreſſed, and in Winter the thickneſs and groſneſs of the Air, the often

often and moderate ſhowers, and the natural warmth of the Sea makes the coldeſt and ſharpeſt ſeaſons of the year tolerable, and not ſo vehement as it is in far more Southern Climates.

Again, the *Soil* admits of no *perſonous Serpents*, no *ſavage beaſts*; men ſecurely travel it, the Cattel quietly and unmoleſtedly graſe in the verdent and flouriſhing fields thereof, It naturally produceth nothing almoſt, which is deſtructive to man or beaſt; here are *no bondmen, or terræ aſcriptitij*. All people are free, and at their own diſpoſe.

The Soil is fruitfull in Mines of *Lead*, *Iron*, *Tin*, and other Minerals, eſpecially it abounds in *Coal*, a neceſſary and rich Commodity. It is repleniſhed alſo with all ſorts of *Grain*. *Charles* the great, called *England* the *Store-houſe and Granary of the Weſtern World*. And yet how plentiful ſo ever it was in former times in Grain, it is ſince ſo improved, that a ſcarce year is ſeldom heard of; And the complaint of the Farmer is now,

—inopem me copia fecit. *Ovid.*

But how plentifull ſoever it be in Grain, it is altogether, if not more abundant in *meadows and Paſtures*, in which you may behold innumerable flocks of Cattel to feed. The *Cattel* too have their peculiar Commendation, and more eſpecially the *Sheep*, the wealth of our Nation, which

which I know not, whether I should more commend for their goodness or increase. The Horses are also able, strong and lusty, fit for War, and *can endure a* * *Hell it self.* Not to mention more, the *Dogs* are fierce in the highest degree, and give not over the fight, till death parts them: And such are the *Cocks.*

* *Alluding to the Proverb, England is a Hell for Horses.*

The Earth is everywhere adorned with thick and shady *Woods*, which from all parts ecchо out the sweet notes of their winged Inhabitants. In them grows the King of Trees, the *Oke*, and that the best in the World, and strong like the heart of the Inhabitants.

It is questionable, whether any other Country affords more *Pleasure.* Infinite is the variety of sports and games that the Elements yeild us. It is affirmed, that there are more *Parks* in *England*, then in all *Europe* besides. And because I am speaking of recreations, let me add, that no Country can equal it in sound of Bells.

We have now surveyed the propitiousness of the Heavens, the fruitfulness and bounty of the Soil, we must not forget the commodities and riches of the *Seas*, that constantly embrace us. And not to number the excellent Havens, and Ports which they yeild, or the riches and merchandises that from all places we receive by them, I shall onely observe out of our writers the plenty of Fish in them, and the riches that thereby arise to those that take pains for them. It is affirmed, that the Hollanders have eight thousand Sail of Ships yearly fishing on the

the British Coasts, and have taken in one year five millions worth of Fish. They have imployed one hundred and fifty thousand Seamen, meerly about their fishing, and twice as many people on Land; besides, what a great number of other ships, they set on work in transporting their fish to other Countries; and probably there are as many Ships of other Nations fishing on our Coasts, as of the Hollanders. In one day neer *Minigal* in *Devon*-shire, there have been taken five hundred Tuns of Fish, and at one draught twenty Lasts. But as I have been credibly informed there were taken at *Dunkirk*, in the same County, about ten years ago sixty Lasts of Fish at one onely draught. *These are our neglected Indies, richer then those that belong to Spain, which with no great trouble would make us the most powerful in shipping, and the richest Nation.* Nay, one doth not fear to say, that *no Christian Prince of the World is Lord of any Territory, that considering all circumstances yeildeth the like constant and general benefit as our Seas* do. And here I could blame the sloth of the English, that suffers others under their noses to rob them (if I may so say) of that wealth, which would be theirs at the rate of an easier industry; but I should then forget the design which I am about.

Heylins Geogr.

Borroughs Soveranity of British Seas.

Borroughe

Certainly, it will not be denied, but that *England*, according to that old verse,

Angliamons, fons, pons, ecclesia, famina, lana.

Excels

Excels in *pleasant Mountains*, in stately *Bridges*, sweet and numerous *Rivers*, magnificent *Churches*, and its natural *Wool*, but especially in *women, who are of sweet aspects, and lovely features, and answerable conditions.* This Sex hath alwayes been esteemed and found by the English worthy of Empire, and the highest command. And when it hath been inthroned, it hath bestowed the greatest and admirablest felicity on the Nation. It hath not given place to other Sex for illustrious, and excellent qualities, and the highest vertues. And if the upper hand, and other preheminencies are here bestowed upon the women, which elsewhere are denied, they deserve (as we think) much more, for those sweet conditions that have innobled them. But I will no longer insist on this matter, how meritorious soever, seing it needs no manner of words or flourishes to set it out. And for the men, take here for a taste this Character, out of *Polidore Virgil*; *Sunt Angli procerâ staturâ, venustâ & candidâ facie, cæruleis plurimum oculis, & ut sono linguæ Italis persimiles, ita Corporum habitu ac moribus ab illis pene nihil discrepant, belli morati, concilia cunctando capiunt, ut qui sciant nihil esse tam inimicum consiliis, quàm celeritatem, mites & suapte natura ad omne humanitatis officium propensi*, &c.

We might also here derive our Name from Heaven it self. For Englishmen in the Teutonick tongue (our Original Language) signifies

nities withont ſtraining for it, an Angel-like-men, and ſuch have the countenances of Engliſhmen appeared to indifferent eyes. Withall we have the Authority of a Pope to warrant this Etymology, who fetcht *Angli* from *Angeli*.

I will not muſter up more particulars in this place, but rather paſs by what other matters might fall under this head; for,

Cætera de genere hoc (adeo ſunt multa) loquacem *Hor.*
Delaſſare valent Fabium. ——

The things already ſummed up, will ſufficiently evidence, that the *lot of the people hath fallen in a good Land*: Well may they with the Pſalmiſt *prefer their* Jeruſalem *above their chiefeſt joy, and look on it as Regnum Dei*, And ſo ſometimes it hath been called. They may joyn in that Canticle, *Non fecit ita ulli genti*: God hath not dealt ſo well with any Nation: for they enjoy not onely neceſſaries, but alſo pleaſures, priviledges, glories, and theſe in great proportions. Give me leave to conclude this Chapter, with that of the Roman Panegyriſt, excellently tranſlated to my hand by a moſt ingenuous Gentleman, *O the moſt bleſſed and fortunate of all Countries*, Britain! *How deſervedly hath Nature with the bounties of Heaven and Earth endowed thee with all the bleſſed gifts of Air and Soil! Thy ever fruitfull womb is not cloſed with* *Paneg. Conſtant.*

Ice,

Ice, nor dissolved by the raging Star. Where Bacchus and Ceres are perpetual Twins. Thy Woods are not the Harbour of devouring Beasts, nor thy continual Verdure, the Ambush of Serpents: but the food of innumerable Herds and Flocks, presenting thee their Shepherdess with distended Dugs, or golden Fleeces. The wings of thy Night involve thee not in the horrour of darkness, but have still some white feather; and thy Day, for which we esteem life, is the longest.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Of the Revenue of England.

I Could never put that amongſt the praiſes of *England*, which *Barcley* ſpeaks of it in one place, namely, *Nullum in tam ingenti regno vectigal, non in urbibus, pontiumve diſcriminibus publicanorum ſtationes.* It is a ſhame to ſee the ſtream to run weak & low in the publick purſe, whilſt it is high tide in private ones; and to ſee a poor Prince amongſt rich Subjects. Who admires not, that our State could *live on ſo ſmall a penſion*, as was allowed it formerly? Our Commonwealth hath its belly and neceſſities, as well as others, and withal a people, that can ſupply them. *And is it not a ſhame* (ſaith the noble Chancellor) *that this Iſle, ſeated and manned, as it is, and that hath the beſt iron in the world* (*that is the beſt Souldiers in the world*) *ſhould think of nothing but reckonings and audits, and* meum & tuum, *and I know not what?* Nothing is more certain, then that Arms are the ſtrength of a Nation, money the maintainer of them, and every Commonwealth ſtands in need of the one and the other, and at no time can well be without them, according to that approved ſentence of *Tacitus*: *neque quies gentium ſine Armis, neque Arma ſine ſtipendiis, neque ſtipendia ſine tributis haberi queunt.* The ſame Author relates, that when *Nero* thought

of

of remitting all Subsides, and Taxes, *idque pulcherrimum donum generi mortalium daret*; The Senate takes him off from that resolution, *dissolutionem imperii docendo, si fructus, quibus respublica sustineretur, diminueret.* What the Senate fore-warned *Nero* of, the people of *Constantinople*, that neglected it, found to their cost, who lost their City and Empire meerly for want of a fitting Revenue, when the Citizens thereof abounded in wealth and riches. In the holy Scripture, we have a notable example to this purpose. *David* and *Solomon*, the most glorious Kings that ever reigned over the Jews, were very famous for their Treasures, which amounted to such vast sums, as would seem incredible, did not God himself in his holy word make the relation. One of the waies that these Princes had to raise Treasures, was by Taxes and Impositions on the people; and this they did in a great proportion, as appears by the complaint of the Tribes to *Rehoboam*, of the oppression of his Father *Solomon*. And yet under these burthens, never did a people flourish more, had a greater name or enjoyed more wealth, money in *Jerusalem* being as common as the stones in the street. And when the Ten Tribes revolted, it is very suspitious, that *Rehoboam* eased them of their Taxes in some measure, but these Tribes were never after, as we read, a considerable people. But it is more then probable, that *Judah* was under as great Taxes and payments in the time of *Rehoboam*, and the succeeding Kings, if not greater, then in the time of *Solomon*; this we may guess at by

by his harſh anſwer to the whole Tribes, when they told him of his Fathers oppreſſing them; *My little finger ſhall be heavier* (ſaith he) *then my Fathers loins, &c.* And withal we read not only in his life, but afterwards in the reigns of other Kings over *Judah*, of great Armies raiſed out of that ſmal Country, and well provided for War; we read of the muniting of Towns, and the gathering of treaſure, as in the reign of *Hezekiah*; And yet notwithſtanding all theſe payments and burthens, the Tribes of *Judah* under them flouriſhed, and ſaw many good and glorious daies. The Romans alſo, when they were at the higheſt pitch of proſperity, and when their liberty was not yet violated, paid the greateſt Taxes. *Tacitus* relates, *Petitaſq; vectigalium ſocietates à conſulibus & tribunis plebis conſtitutas, acri etiam populi Rom. tum libertate.* And the United Provinces, that are as free as any people, pay mighty Taxes, nay, under theſe, they have preſerved their liberty, and made their ſmall Territories, not onely conſiderable, but alſo dreadful amongſt the chiefeſt Nations of *Europe*, and attained to incredible wealth, ingroſſing in a manner the riches of the whole world. And our Nation, when it hath enjoyed the greateſt liberty, hath paid well for it with its purſe.

The want of a Revenue doth moſt unarm a State, and as ſome will have it, doth even bereave it of its very nerves. And certainly it is a madneſs when the ſafety of a whole Nation is in queſtion, to go about to preſerve private wealth.

Lucan: *——Sua quisque pericula nescit*
Attonitus majore metu. Quis littora ponto
Obruta, quis summis cernens in pontibus æquor
Æthera que in terras dejecto sole cadentem,
Tot rerum finem timeat sibi? Non vacat ullos
Pro se ferre metus, Urbi magnoq; timetur.

A Revenue must be had, and it is the Publick (a name comprehensive of all our good) that wants and requires it. Withall the lessenng of private Estates to supply the necessities of our Country, is sufficiently recompenced in that good, and glory, and safety, that is brought to the publique, and so also to every member of it. And they are our friends and relations, whom we pay: And which is more, every man in his private capacity, enjoys what remains more surely, and more comfortably. I might add, that the Indies are discovered, merchandising increased, and land improved, so that we may justly admire, that in this age, the State should be harder put to it for money, then formerly, when it was more scarce, and that now adaies it should be more difficult to break those domestick strengths, and private heaps of particular mens treasures, then great Armies or mighty Kingdoms. But I am afraid some will think I have said too much on this Theam. But considering, that its yet in the free wils of the people only, to give as much or as little as they please, and that they themselves are their own Taxers, and that their money now is not squandred away on toies, and trifles, this discourse may not

at

at all seem harsh, and the rather, for that I protest, were it not in the power of the people to impose Taxes, but onely of a single person, I would not have put down one word of this.

It is now time to make particular observations of the English Revenue, proper to my design.

In the first place, such are the internal riches of the Isle, and such the merchandise and trade of it, that it is well able to yeeld, what the necessities of the State can at any time require, so that if we measure the greatness of *England* by the Revenue it can afford, it will appear very large and spacious; Its Revenue being sufficient not only for the defence of the Nation, but also the offence of the Enemies thereof. The Romans found this Isle a gainful Province, so did the Saxons and Danes; and the Pope stiled it *Puteum inexhaustum*. The great expeditions and Wars that it hath gone through in former time, shew that it can yeeld a good Revenue. And it was not long since that *England* had a publick income which if proportioned to the Territories, was as great as any in the world.

At present it hath one, nothing contemptible, which dischargeth the expences of Justice, Intelligence, and other matters of ordinary charge. And which is more glorious, maintains a veteran Army for the defence of *England*, and its Provinces, and also a strong Navy alwaies swiming on the British waves, and besides these, carrieth on a War with *Spain*, which though it be for the golden World, proves chargeable, and is not able to bear its own expences, so

coſtly is War. And when this War is ended, *England* will afford a Revenue, able to manage others; for as long as the Nation is conſiderable, we muſt look alwaies to be engaged in Wars, either falling on other Nations, or they falling on us.

No Taxes are laid on the people, but by their conſent in Parliament. And then *Bacon* tells us, *It is true, that Taxes levied by the conſent of the eſtate, do abate mens courage leſs, as it hath been ſeen notably in the Exciſes of the Low Countries, and in ſome degree in the Subſidies of* England.

Again, when a Tax is granted, it is equally impoſed. All ſorts of people contribute according to their abilities; no man is excepted, nor any rated above his fellow Subjects.

And when it is to be collected, every Country chuſeth its own Collectors for the time being, ſo that the Tax being granted by conſent, and ſo equally impoſed, and ſo fairly gathered, by thoſe that the taxed themſelves chooſe, it would (were it much more, then ever it was in *England*) be hardly felt in other Countries, where it is laid on the common man onely, the Gentry being exempted, and which is worſe, where the Officers are boundleſs in their extortions.

The Taxes that the Engliſh pay, come into the Exchequer with little charge. The clear receit doth not differ much from the ſum impoſed. In moſt other Countries it is not ſo, eſpecially in *France*, where how great ſoever the ſums are, which are gathered from the people, yet when they come into the publike purſe, they are leſſened to a fifth part.

Heylins ſurvey of France.

The

The learned *Grotius* having delivered his judgment, that Impoſitions might be laid on Merchandiſe, puts down this limitation, *Dum modus cauſæ non excedatur; Inde enim pendet juſtitia, ut tributi, ita vectigalis.* The Engliſh people, having the power of impoſing Taxes, did never grant them, when unneceſſary. But this is not all; they provide alſo that the Revenue be well expended. Here in *England* the publike Treaſure is not divided, and ſquandred away for penſions on great Officers, and Favourites, or caſt away on Masks, and Plaies, or ſuch like the prodigious toyes of other States, but expended for the honour and ſafety of the Nation, and on publick and noble accounts. We do not pay ſuch great Taxes as other Nations; yet ſo well are they husbanded, that they not onely maintain great Armies in the ſeveral Dominions of the Nation, and ſtrong Navies well provided for War, but alſo ſatisfie the Souldiery, Sea-men and other Officers to a penny. To conclude, there is no State in the world will appear a better Pay-maſter then the Engliſh.

Grotius de jure belli pacis l. 2. c. 2. ſ. 14.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Engliſh Genius.

I Have in other Chapters ſpoken of the Engliſh Courage, Religion and Law, and there made diſcoveries of the excellency of their diſpoſition, as it reſpected thoſe; I ſhall therefore here onely endeavour to ſhew, that they are naturally a people not onely of fair and honeſt minds, but alſo generous and noble Spirits.

The Engliſh have filled their hiſtories with paſſages as truly noble, as thoſe which we read with ſo much admiration, in the Grecian and Roman Writers. I ſhall here in the firſt place, give ſome remarkable examples of the Engliſh generoſity. The firſt ſhall be of their Liberality in the following ſtory. The Earl of *Derby* in *Edward* the Thirds time, having taken *Brigerac* in *France* by aſſault, gave the plunder thereof to his Engliſh Souldiers: It happened that a common Souldier ſeiſed on a houſe in which was a mighty treaſure of money, in great long Sacks. The honeſt Souldier goes and acquaints his General, what a great Booty he had met with, which he thought too much to keep to himſelf. What do you expect a General would do in this caſe? No doubt you are apt to think he diſpoſſeſt his Souldier of the beſt part of his treaſure. No, the greatneſs of it did not at all

peed Ed.
d.

all tempt this generous Earl (though ſollicited by his honeſt Souldier) to meddle with it. He returns the Souldier to his money, with this noble anſwer, *That the houſe, and all that was in it, was his, let it be worth what it would; for he had already given it him.* The man retires to his golden houſe, and examining his wealth, findes it yet more vaſt, then at firſt he thought it to be, and goes once more and acquaints the Earl of his further diſcovery, who again, as gallantly confirms it to him, ſaying, *Why telleſt thou me of the greatneſs of the treaſure? Go take it, and enjoy it; I have ſaid it, and my word once paſt, may not with my honour be revoked, were the treaſure never ſo great.* Here is generoſity in its heigth, for which this General deſerves a never dying name. Very like unto this, was that nobleneſs of the Lord *Audley*, whom the Black Prince had obſerved to do remarkable ſervice at the Battel of *Poictiers*, and therefore beſtowed on him as a reward of his valour, five hundred marks of land by the year, to hold to him and his Heirs (in thoſe times a gift worthy of ſo great a Prince) which preſently the brave Lord generouſly diſtributed amongſt his four Eſquires, who had indured the Brunt of the day with him: the Prince hearing of it, asked him whether he accepted not his Gift? To whom the Lord anſwered, *That thoſe Eſquires had deſerved it as well as himſelf, and had more need of it*; wherewith the Prince being pleaſed, gave him five hundred marks by the year more, in the ſame kind.

Cambden Annal. par. 1. p 75

Will you have an example of an extraordinary Piety and Goodness? Take then that of Colonel *Edward Randolph*, who in Queen *Elizabeths* time, when *Newhaven* in *France*, which was much infected with the plague, was delivered up by the English to the French, *took upon his shoulders the helpless common Souldiers that were sick of the plague, and carried them to the ships.* Like unto this was the story of an aged Citizen of *Excester*, who when that City was besieged by the Rebells in *Edward* the Sixth's time, and reduced to a great Famine, so that horses were their best meat there, brought forth his stores of provision and victuals, bravely saying, *That as he had communicated to them his store, so would he participate of their wants; and for his part, he would feed on one arm, and fight with the other, before he would consent to put the City into the hands of the Rebels.*

Sir Joh. Hayward Edw. 6.

In the next place, I will produce an example of English Gratitude, but so transcendent as is not to be equalled. It was thus, *Praxedas* with Three hundred old Souldiers obstinately defended *Crodune* against *Aumontius*, who had a Body of English Auxiliaries under him. *Aumontius* appoints the English to assault one Bulwark, whilst his French did the like to another. The English after several hours of hot service kill the Governor, and first enter the Fort. The General had given order that no quarter should be given to the Garrison, which is obeyed by all but one English-man, whose name is not mentioned in the relation, therefore

Hakwels Apol out of Tuanus.

Cambden.

therefore as *Strada* in a like caſe ſaith, *Tota hominis gloria in patriæ nationiſque decus ceſſit*; This man meeting a Spaniard, that formerly had been a means to ſave his life in the Netherlands, imbraceth him, and bids him be of good courage (ſaying) *I will make it appear, that the good turn thou didſt me, was not in vain beſtowed; for I will firſt loſe my life which I owe thee, than I will ſuffer thy life to be taken from thee.* He is as good as his word, and preſerves the Spaniards life, for which being accuſed to the General, and commanded to bring forth his priſoner, he boldly anſwered, *That he had promiſed him his life*; then being charged for breaking the Generals Edict, for which he was to die, He replies, *If nothing of the ſeverity of that Edict may be remitted, I am ready to ſuffer for him, conditionally, that his life may be ſaved, and he may know, it was ſaved by my means.* *Aumontius* wonders that an Engliſh-man ſhould be ſo great a friend to a Spaniard, as to be ready to die for him, whereupon the Engliſh-man tells him, how the Spaniard had ſaved his life formerly; *Aumontius* is glad of the occaſion to reward ſo generous an action, and lets the Engliſh-man go free with the Spaniard.

I might in this way produce multitudes of examples; but that I may not over-do it, I will only mention one general paſſage, which is very pertinent to our purpoſe. It is this, *William Rufus* beſieging his Rebels that were fled into *Rocheſter* Caſtle, and wanting men to reduce them, cauſed proclamation to be made, that

thoſe

those that did not resort to him should be accounted *Nidings* (that is to say) base persons. At this very word such numbers repaired to him, that the Rebels onely on sight of them yeelded. The English scorn to preserve an infamous life, and to go away with a whole skin, spotted with the blemishes of baseness and cowardize.

But to clear the English generosity, yet further I shall take this method. 1. We will consider how the English carry themselves in respect to Government. 2. Then, how they behave themselves to their Enemies, and Prisoners. 3. What's their usage to conquered Territories. 4. Their Curtesie to Strangers: And lastly, what they are in their private Relations.

For the first, namely, how they carry themselves in respect of Government, I dare affirm this, that there cannot be a better people to good Princes. If *Henry* the fifth were a wise, valiant and excellent Prince, his English were as obedient and as couragious, and as noble Subjects. Queen *Elizabeth*, a worthy Princess, was honored by them as a Mother. They lay down their lives, and empty their purses willingly at her beck; *Bentivoglio* admires how this Isle could furnish her with so much money as it did. The Parliament at one time granted her such large Subsidies, that she remitted one of the payments of these Subsidies to the people, as being more then she wanted. And as well was she served by their persons in her wars; for success alwayes accompanied her

Cambden Ann.

Arms

Arms: yet Sir *Walter Rawleigh* reports, *that she did not use to reward her Warriours and great Captains, but almost all of them died poor, notwithstanding their worth and faithfulness.* *Hist. of World.*

Our Kings were never more willing to embrace an honourable enterprise, or set on a Forraign War, then the English Parliaments have been, not onely to perswade them to such, but also to furnish them for the carrying them on. When their Kings have led the English to such Enterprises, they have not onely been well followed by the Nobility and Gentry, who have sold their Estates, to appear in the better Equipage, but also by the common people. And as yet there hath been no honourable Enterprise, in which the English have not dared to follow their Captains, as far as they have had the courage to lead them.

I shall confess, that the English have been unruly, and raised War under weak Princes: that they have strugled with their Monarchs for their great Charter, and other Priviledges and Liberties; and that they have kept their Princes to their Grants, yea, and brought them often to confirm them. But this hath proved good for the Nation, and *England* hath been the happier for it ever since. Had the English been as tame, and as patient as other people, they had been as arrant Slaves as others: And if they have taken up Arms against weak Princes, they have even then minded the good of the Nation.

Again, Even under weak and unactive Princes, as *Richard* the second, who neglected

lected the defence of the Seas, you have a Sir *John Philpot* at his own charge setting forth a Fleet to guard them, and this he performs with good success. *Rome* might boast of a *Lucullus* out of his vast riches able to raise and pay an Army; but in all the Roman Histories (as I take it) there is never a Sir *John Philpot*, or any other Citizen, that sets out either Army or Fleet at his own charge, for the safety of the Common-wealth: We could say as much also of the Towns of *Dartmouth* and *Plymouth*, who moved by the former noble Example, equipt an other Navy for the like purpose, and returned ~~from it~~ with answerable success. The same *Richard* the second, being troubled with Rebels, forty thousand Horse resorted to his aid within the space of three dayes. *Speed.*

I might here produce the testimonies of several of their Kings concerning the English, as of *Henry* the seventh, *Henry* the eighth, and of Queen *Elizabeth*, and others, but I should then be prolix; I will onely therefore remember, that his Highness the Lord Protector often calls *the English the best people in the World. I did look at* (saith he in one of his Speeches to the Parliament) (*as wrapt up in you, together with my self*) *the hopes and happiness of* (*though not the greatest yet*) *a very great and the best people in the World.*

The English also are generous Enemies, & deal fairly with their Prisoners. That they are fair Enemies, I shall pruduce *Comines* as a witness, who in his time affirmed, *that the custom of*

England

England was neither to kill nor ranſom any man, eſpecially of the vulgar ſort. And in another place he ſaith, *that the Realm of* England *hath that ſpecial grace above all other Realms and Dominions, that in Civil Wars, the people are not deſtroyed, the Townes be not burned nor razed, but the lot of Fortune falleth upon the Souldiers, eſpecially the Gentlemen.* It is obſerved alſo, that the very Thieves in *England* rarely take away the lives of thoſe whom they rob, and when a Paſſengers life is aſſailed, it comes to paſs through his reſiſtance, and when he will fight for his Purſe. The Lord *Bacon* obſerves, that Queen *Elizabeth*, notwithſtanding all the provocation given her by *Spain*, mannaged the War on her part, with all fairneſs. *In the whole courſe of Queen* Elizabeths *proceeding* (ſaith he) *with the King of* Spain, *there was never any project by her Majeſty, or any of her Miniſters, either moved or aſſented to, for the taking away of the life of the ſaid King; neither hath there been any Declaration or writing of eſtate; no nor book allowed, wherein his honour hath been touched or taxed, otherwiſe then for his Ambition, though there were attempts againſt her life, practiſed by the Council of* Spain, *and innumerable defamatory Libels againſt her Perſon and Government.* Bacon.

* Again, in the late Civil Wars, there was much Military Action of all ſorts, yet were there no rapines, burnings of houſes, ſpoiling of fields, or deſtroying of cattel, no wronging of Country-men,

* *And in the Expedition to Cadiz in this Queens time, what clemency and generoſity was uſed by the* English, *both to the women and Clergy is ſufficiently known.*

Country-men, or abuſing of women, or at leaſt theſe were as rarely heard of in theſe Wars, as in the time of Peace abroad. What was ſaid to *Cæſar* of his Wars, *Bellum geſſiſti aliorum pace mollius*, may alſo with truth be ſaid of ours: for like the buſh that *Moſes* ſaw on fire, and yet was not burnt, our Country was everywhere on a flame, with a cruel War, and drowned as it were in a Sea of blood: (but ſuch as was ſpilt in fair fights) yet it flouriſhed even then, and had plenty of all things, the people for the moſt part enjoying their own, unleſs too buſie or active on one ſide or other.

Saluſt.

More particularly, the Engliſh deal with their Priſoners taken in War, very gently. In the late Dutch War, as it was fought out with much reſolution on both ſides; ſo alſo were the Victories obtained in it, uſed moderately, and the Priſoners dealt with in a mild manner. And herein the Engliſh cannot have the ſmaller ſhare of the praiſe: for they obtained not onely the firſt victories and the moſt, but alſo took the greater number of Priſoners: Nor is it a new thing for the Engliſh to uſe their Priſoners of war, after this manner. When the *Black-Prince* at the Battel of *Poictiers*, had taken *John* King of *France*, he carries himſelf with all humility towards him, entertains him nobly, and takes pains to comfort the unfortunate Prince. And when he was carried into *England*, his uſage was ſuch, that after his enlargement, he took a journey out of his own Kingdom to viſit his former Priſon. The French King *Francis* found not the like entertainment from *Charles* the-fifth, who held

Guicciard. lib. 17.

Same.

held him prisoner in so hard and close a fashion, that once he went about to lay violent hands on himself. And that King could then remember the good usage that King *John* his Predecessor received at the hands of the English, to upbraid the Emperor with. But the usage that *James* the first King of *Scotland*, being taken Prisoner, when young, received from the English, was in my opinion yet more noble: for they give their Prisoner an excellent Education, whereby he at last returned out of his Prison into his own Kingdom, one of the best and most accomplished Princes that ever reigned there. And then this, what better entertainment could an Enemy-Prince have received? For the English not onely otherwise used him as a Prince, but made him a wise and gallant one, though they knew one day, that he must be their Enemy, and practise those excellent lessons, which they had infused into him, against themselves.

And here again, if we take notice of the carriage of the Spaniard to the Dolphin and Duke of *Orleans*, the children of the said French King *Francis*, being Prisoners to *Charles* the fifth, we may finde matter to illustrate the good usage of the English to the Scotish Prince *Vordin*, that was sent by *Louise*, mother of King *Francis*, to visit these Captive children in *Spain*, found them in the Castle of *Pedragon* in a dark Chamber, ill furnished, having forgot their French tongue, so that when *Vordin* spoke to them they required an Interpreter. The best entertainment of their time, was *Herberts Hen. 8th.*

was playing with little Dogs, and making Pictures of wax: and yet theſe were the Priſoners of the moſt Illuſtrious Emperor *Charles* the fifth. Theſe paſſages are ſufficient to ſhew that the Engliſh are generous Enemies.

Again, if we look on the Engliſh as Conquerors, we finde them herein alſo generous, and that in all places where they have been Maſters, they have ſhown the trueſt effects of commendable and noble diſpoſitions. So mild and gentle was their Government in *Gaſcoigne*, that that Province preferred the Government of the Engliſh, though Forreigners, before that of their own Countrymen, and maintained the Engliſh Intereſt in that Province, by their own proper Forces, when the Engliſh themſelves were engaged in their Civil War. And in the *Indies* the Engliſh uſe the Natives with all manner of humanity, though they have often received from them great provocations to do otherwiſe; whereas the Spaniard hath unpeopled whole Empires and Kingdoms with their cruelty, and left but a ſmall remnant of the Inhabitants. But where ſhall we finde a people Conquered by Arms, uſed with more moderation and gentleneſs, then the Scots are at this time by the Engliſh? If theſe have overcome them, they have recompenced it, with introducing more Liberty and greater Priviledges then they had before.

To what hath already been ſaid of the Engliſh Generoſity, I muſt add ſomewhat con-

concerning their Curtesie and Civility to Forreigners. The Merchant stranger dwells in all security and peace amongst us, and the Traveller passeth all Roads, enters all Towns, with as much Freedom and Liberty as the Natives. Sir *Thomas Smith* saith, that *Strangers in* England *are suffered to use the manner of their own Country.* Withal when they are cried for their lives, the Law allows them a Jury *de medietate linguæ*, half of their Judges to be Strangers as themselves. And *Comines* tells us, *he used to go to* Callis (when it was in the English hands) *without a pass; for the Englishmen* (saith he) *are very courteous and honourable in their entertainments.* But what *Barclay* hath to this purpose is more full: Speaking of the English, he expresseth himself thus; *Et adeo hospitalia tribunalia in ea gente erecta sunt, ut sive externus actor sit, faventes judices habeat, sive uno crimine cum indigenâ reus, cive ad vigas, furcâmq; destinato, ipse interdum nihil acerbius jubeatur, quàm è Britanniâ excedere.* He adds yet further, *Patriciis quoque Animus ad excipiendos peregrinos sponte factus, & famam illius Comitatis cum honesto ambitu quærunt.*

Lastly, in private relations, the Englishman carries himself nobly. He is the most loving husband, the best Master, the most obedient childe, and the kindest neighbour. The wife hath large priviledges, and honours, and she again on the other side requites her husband with the truest love: so that a Divorce is rarely

heard of here. The ſervants alſo are all free, and not at all uſed like Slaves, of which ſort, there is not ſo much as one to be found on Engliſh ground. The children here give that reſpect and obedience to their Parents, no Law compelling them to it, which in other places the rigour of Laws cannot produce. And ſo for good neighbourhood the Engliſh live inoffenſively together, rarely either doing or receiving injuries. Nor is hoſpitality more practiſed in any Nation then this; it being generally one of the greateſt offences to an Engliſhman, to enter his houſe and not to taſte his good liquor or chear.

Having been ſo long on the Engliſh generoſity, I ſhall therefore be the briefer on their fair and candid intentions, a matter ſo well known, as it will much ſhorten my labour herein.

The Spaniſh Embaſſador admiring at the promiſcuous ſitting of men and women together in the Engliſh Churches, was anſwered by an Engliſh Doctor thus; *Turpe quidem id eſſe apud Hiſpanos, qui etiam in locis ſacris Cogitarent de explenda libidine, a quâ procul aberant Angli*; A ſpeech, methinks, too biting. Certainly, the Doctor might have delivered that truth with a more rebated Edge. What *Barclay* ſaith of their candor, is more modeſt, and by far more advantagious. *Dum ſalutant, aut ſcribunt, diſcendere ad verba imaginariæ ſervitutis, quæ iſtorum ſeculorum blanditiæ invenit, niſi forte externis moribus imbuti, non ſuſtinent.* He that in *Comines* ſhall read of the entertainment,

ment, that the English received at the French Kings hands, and the manner of it, will finde that that King could not but have a good opinion of the fair meaning and honeſt dealing of the Engliſh. This King was *Lewis* the 11th, who the French Writers deliver for a wiſe Prince: yet he, though the Engliſh came to conquer his Kingdom, led by their King *Edward* the fourth, dared to truſt them in the fair and ſtrong City of *Amiens*; I confeſs this was after peace made with them, but yet the Engliſh Souldier was much diſcontented at it. The Engliſh that were entertained in this City, were 9000 in number; they had plenty of wine ſet before them, and tables of Salt-meats to whet on the liquor, and were aſſiſted by the greateſt Drinkers of *France*, and this entertainment they had for three dayes together; ſo that they could not but be much heightened and elevated by the wine. And yet, which *Comines* wonders at, there was not in all this time any manner of tumult, diſorder, or quarrelling. If wine will lay open the nakedneſs of the ſoul, then ſee here the harmleſs diſpoſition of the Engliſh; for that Souldiers that came for booty, and who did not at all brook the Peace, then made, which did defraud them of the rich ſpoils of that brave Country, ſhould in the rage and heighth of drink, attempt no novelties or injuries on a rich City, or pour out their reſentments on ſuch an occaſion, will ſpeak their honeſt hearts, in which if there had been any lurking miſchief or baſeneſs, it would now have diſcovered it ſelf, wine being ſo

ſtrong an inchantment, that it layes the heart and inwards of a man, as open and naked as his face. To conclude, it hath been an ancient Cuſtom of *England* to ſend Heralds to denounce Wars, to prefix a day of Battel, the Engliſh ſcorning with *Alexander* to ſteal victories: and I could wiſh they were not too too open-hearted in their Treaties; for (if I do not miſtake) they have hereby let go not a few advantages.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of Religion in more Antient Times.

I Am now to point at the advantages which *England* hath in its Religion, which are not now. I shall in the first place speak of it, as it was in antient times. Christian Religion (which hath unspeakable joys and comforts attendant on, and peculiar to every part of it, and yet is but the way and means to higher joys, to transcendent and unspeakable ones) quickly took footing in our Isle, but whether it was brought in by St. *Peter*, or St. *Paul*, or *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, or *Aristobulus*, is disputed, though it is thought that more then one of them came hither to propagate it. The Christian Faith in its first Age, was received and entertained in this remote place. Our Isle also had the honour to give Religion the first Christian King, *Lucius*, and consequently the first Kingdom. Then afterwards it bestowed on the World the first Christian Emperor. And lastly, when Religion was over-run with great corruptions, and strange superstitions, the first King that relinquished the errors of the Church of *Rome*, and began the Reformation. And there is some probability, that the Church of *Glastenbury*, built by *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, was the first publike Temple, erected by the Christians. *Bishop Godwin.*

Fuller.

Our Ancestors have left the highest evi-

dences of a ſtrong Faith, and fervent love to Religion. Where will you finde ſo many Princes, that laying aſide their Crowns, and the delights and glories of a Kingdom, took on them Religious Habits, and preferred the auſterities of Religion before Empire, and Rule, and the whole World? Where ſuch a multitude of people, that ſet themſelves apart for the ſervice of God, and became religious? Our pious Anceſtors placed their happineſs and contentment in the ſervice of God, in the chaſt pleaſures and ſolid joys of Religion: Vertue was their higheſt Honour, their greateſt Pleaſure, their trueſt Riches, their only Felicity. How could they be miſerable that accounted Affliction it ſelf their Crown, the Croſs their Glory, and Miſery it ſelf their Happineſs? That were ſerene under infamy, compoſed under torments, and contented with Poverty? Thoſe bleſſed Souls knew that they muſt deveſt themſelves of thoſe proſperous conditions that were earthly, before they could be happy; that they could never be honourable, before they were humble; Honour and Pride being incompatible; that the contempt of pleaſure, was the greateſt pleaſure; and that the diſtribution of and laying out of Riches, gave that true content, which the poſſeſſion and hoarding them up could never do. How did they therefore contemn and deſpiſe the bravery and grandeure of earthly things? Thoſe riches which others accounted excellent and eligible goods, the price of all other enjoyments, and valued above life, the Soul and Heaven, they as

much neglected and slighted. They chose and imbraced a Religion, that stript and devested them of the World: And esteemed goodness above all advantages, and could prefer even Heaven it self before Gold, the glorious and bewitching Mammon of the World. *They became themselves hungry by feeding their Saviour in his Members; thirsty, by giving him drink; naked, by clothing him.* But that blessed Age *is gone to inherit the Kingdom prepared for them from the foundation of the World*, and have left a posterity that dotes on that wealth which they commendably imployed to charitable uses, and looked on (if not laid out well) as that which would render their *entrance into Heaven no wider then the eye of a needle.* Those Scriptures also that they brought to justifie this contempt of riches, now have another interpretation put on them: So true is that of the learned *Grotius* — *Cum tempore laxata est disciplina, & paulatim interpretatio legis evangelicæ cœpit ad seculi mores accommodari.* The former Age might (it may be) in their despising of riches run too much into the extream, but I am afraid ours is fallen as much into the other and far worse extream, of too much loving and keeping them, whereas in truth they have nothing excellent or attractive in them, but the noble parting with them. *Grot. de jure bel. & pa. l. 2.*

Riches are not onely the goods of the Body to him, that knows how to use them well, *but also of the Minde too.* When such an one hath them, they become *an universal good, and productive of the generousest qualities.* What

is it that a good mind cannot make an advantage of? But riches, which are of such infinite use, when they meet with a charitable soul, are undoubtedly one of the greatest goods. It was an excellent saying of *Cicero*, *Non habet fortuna melius, quam ut possit, nec natura præstantius, quam ut velis servare plures.* Riches are the truest touch-stones of worth and nobleness, and make the best trial between *Heaven-born souls*, and those that are *earthly and base*. These hug and embrace the *Gold and Silver*, those delight in the *commendable distribution of them*.

Certainly, if we may judge of the faith and piety of our Fore-fathers, by their immense works of Charity, we have all the cause in the world to pronounce them truly great. In the Reign of King *Henry* the Fourth, a calculation was made of the wealth of the Church by which it was found, that *leaving sufficient to the Clergy, the over-plus of their Revenues, was sufficient to maintain fifteen Earls, fifteen hundred Knights, six thousand and two hundred Gentlemen, and an hundred Hospitals, besides twenty thousand pounds by the year, which might come to the Kings Exchequer, which twenty thousand pounds were then worth as much as one hundred thousand pounds per annum now.* And in the time of *Henry* the Eighth (saith *Camden* in his *Britannia*,) before the dissolution of Religious Houses, *were standing six hundred forty five Monasteries and Priories, Ninety Colledges, besides those in the Universities, One hundred and ten Hospitals, Two thousand three hundred*

seventy

seventy and four Chanteries and free Chappels; a number so great as did exceed the proportion of the Kingdom: So that the learned Lord of *Cherbury* brings in amongst other arguments of Cardinal *Wolsey* to the Pope, for the dissolution of some of the smaller Religious Houses this, namely, *That the number of Monasteries was greater in this Kingdom then that there could be found learned men enough to supply them* (not but that learned men did then as much abound in this Isle, as in any part of the world, and were sought for, and admitted here from foreign parts) so that *Cambden* might well say, that *there was not any Region in all Christendom, that could make reckoning of more Monasteries richly endowed*. This is certain, that the piety of our Ancestors had endowed the Church *de la pluie beale*, of all their Lands; and that if there was a more pleasant and considerable peice of ground in the whole Land then ordinary, they gave it the Church. Cardinal *Bentivoglio* saith, 'Tis known and acknowledged, that *the Catholick Religion did not flourish more in any part of* Europe, *then in that Kingdom* (meaning *England*) But this is confest and acknowledged on all hands.

Henry 8th Life.

From this Isle, came the restorers, as well of the knowledge of Divinity, as of other Sciences to *France*, in the time of *Charls* the Great; *Alcuinus* an Englishman being the founder of the University of *Paris*. It is affirmed also, that the antient *Gauls* fetched their Religion and Learning from the *Druids* inhabiting this Isle. And to go yet higher, some say that *Aristotle*

Cæsar.

and

and the other antient Philosophers were beholding to the *Druids* for Learning? Again, *Cambden.* *Germany* acknowledgeth also, that when it was overrun with Barbarians, the English brought thither not onely the Arts and Sciences, but also Religion, according to the following verses of a German Poet, which I have transcribed out of *Cambden.*

Hæc tamen Arctois tulit est æterna Britannis,
Quod post Pannonicis vastatum excursibus orbem,
Illa bonas artes, & Græca munera linguæ,
Stellarumque vias, & magni sydera cœli,
Observans, iterum turbatis intulit oris.
Quis se religio multum debere Britannis
Servata, & late circum dispersa fatetur?
Quis nomen Wilfride tuum, quis munera nescit?
Te duce Germanis pietas severa fidesq;
Insinuans cœpit ritus abolere profanos.
Quid non Alcuino facunda Luteria debet?

Our Country-men have been the converters of the *Hassians*, *Franconians*, *Turingians*, the *Saxons* of *Westphalia*, the *Frisians*, the *Hollanders*, *Norwegians*, and *Lituanians*. They not onely have propagated Religion to so many several Nations in this old world, but also with success, have attempted to introduce it in the new. And though the spaniard hath baptised innumerable companies of Indians, in his large Empire, yet is it questionable whether he hath made more converts then the English have in their small Plantations there.

What esteem the Christian world hath had of

the

the English in respect of Religion, appears by this, that in the division of the Christian Provinces into Nations, *Anglicana Natio*, then enjoying but a part of this Isle, was one of the principal and not subaltern, and had equal vote in general Councels with *France*, *Italy* and *Germany* about the affairs of Christendom. Besides the Church of *Rome* reputed the King of *England* to be *filius vernus & adoptivus*, the Emperor being *filius major*, and the King of *France filius minor*, so that by this account, the English Monarch took place next to the French King, and came behind two onely, who had far larger Dominions then his. But the Archbishop of *Canterbury* was *Legatus natus*, and in general Councel had the right foot of the Pope, *tanquam alterius orbis pontifex maximus*. *Speed. Heylin.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Protestant Profession.

ROME (whilst humble, and persecuted, a most glorious Church) by degrees, in its prosperity degenerates, and sinks under the weight of its grandeurs, and at last becomes the very centre of all manner of impiety. Such were the corruptions of manners in this Church; such the Errors, so strange the superstition, and so many the Innovations in Doctrine, and so impetuous, intolerable and cruel was the yoke wherewith it subjugated all people, that at last, the Christian World began to open its eyes; and to be undeceived, and those that were not in love with the vilest slavery, and delighted in blindness, fell on a Reformation, which probably had been followed by the rest of Christendom, had not interest hindered it. Amongst those Nations that went about this Work, *England* was none of the last.

And was it not time to reform, when some sins were allowed and tolerated, others reckoned venial, and any whatsoever dispensed with? When there was no exorbitancy, which the Church of *Rome* did not venture on, *secundum plenitudinem potestatis suæ?* when Heaven was bestowed, Hell avoided, *Modo tinniat manus?* Ignorance and blindness were made

made helps of devotion? When the sacred Scriptures were vilified and disused, and the most destructive assertions broached, as namely, that Faith was not to be kept with Hereticks, and that the Pope might depose temporal Princes? When equivocation was pleaded for? The murder of heretick Princes persuaded, and pronounced meritorious? When in a word, all manner of wickednesse, and impieties, having taken the mask of Religion, had gotten into its seat, and did govern all Christendom with an high hand?

I shall acknowledge, that our Princes, who at first began to retrench the Popes power, might be led to it on occasions not so plausible. But what can be inferred from thence, but the frailty of humane nature, which is often carried by Passion, to do what Reason should perswade it to? *This is certain that how much soever passion blinds men, yet truth would remain eternally in the dark, did not passion at last open their eyes.*

If the occasion of this Reformation were not so plausible, as could be wisht for, yet the manner thereof was every way praise worthy. For whereas Queen *Mary*, had re-established Popery with streams of blood, and great cruelty, Queen *Elizabeth* fell on the Reformation with mildness, and in a peaceable manner: This made its way by the sweet and moderate force of truth and piety, which accompanied it, and established it self in the hearts of the people by the power of the Word; whilst that made more use of the sword

of

of the Hang-man, the Halter and the Faggot, in the mean while keeping in the Scabbard that other Sword of the Word, more proper, and usefull for such a Work. Popery like a Tyrant, ascends the Throne by blood and arms; the other like a natural Prince, with all manner of ease.

Again, the Protestants have alwaies thought their profession sufficiently guarded by Truth, and more gentle wayes, whilst the Papists practise the most horrid methods of cruelty and extremity. I need say no more to make this out, then name the Inquisition, the Massacres of *Paris*, *Ireland*, and *Savoy*, and the Gunpowder Treason. To cruelty, they add other unhandsom methods; and not to mention the calumnies and other false reports which they have raised on Protestants, I shall onely remember their purging of Authors, making them speak in their own sense, and what they please.

Innumerable are the advantages this Reformation hath brought to *England*. It hath bestowed on it the sacred Writings, and brings along with it knowledge, and thinks it can never make its people too knowing. All doctrines are now tried by the word of God, and brought to that Touchstone; all manner of honest liberty is allowed; no sin or unjust action connived at; Piety and goodness are encouraged and maintained, sin condemned and punished. And God, who is a pure Spirit, is worshipped in a spiritual way. In this way I might number many other advantages, bnt I shall leave them

to Divines, and take notice of one or two benefits that we enjoy by the Protestant Profession, and which respect the temporal good of the Nation.

This Reformation rendred our Prince absolute, and the greatest Potentate of Christendom, and the Government dependant on God alone. Before this, the people were inslaved, and fleeced by the Pope, and the Prince and Government trampled on. What Englishman that reads the story of King *John*, and finds how unworthily he was dealt with by the Pope, hath not an indignation against that Sea? Nay *Henry* the Second, one of *Englands* most glorious Princes, is at last forced by the Pope to humble himself to the very shadow of a rebellious Subject. But now Church-men are not so busie in State affairs, nor do they exercise a Superintendency therein. 1 *Cambdens Annal.*

Rome doth not a little vaunt of the outward felicity of its Church, and hath often cast it in our teeth, that since the Romish Profession was banished out of this Isle, our Nation hath been poor and feeble, not able to make any considerable Wars, or attempts abroad, and in nothing been like to its self, whilst under the obedience of the Romish Sea. 2

Whereas *England* whilst it was Popish, was reduced to that weak condition (which they object to us) if there were ever any such thing. Queen *Mary*, that re-established the Roman Religion lost *Calis*, the last foot of Land we held in *France*; And since that I know not of the least territory, or spot of ground which was

was ours in the daies of that Queen, taken from us. Protestant *England*, is not at all diminished in its Dominions, nor fallen in its reputation, for Counsel, Arms, or Strength; nor in the least inferiour to what it was in those daies.

The Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* will make this more evident, who though a woman, was a match for her greatest Ancestor that was a Papist. Queen *Maries* reign was but cloudy to her glorious one. And methinks it should be sufficient to stop the mouths of the Adversaries, that she not onely had the felicity to extirpate the Popish Profession, and settle the Protestant in this Land, when at her coming to the Crown the other was in full possession of it, but also that she was not a little instrumental by her arms, in setling it in so many other Countries. *Scotland* in probability had not been Protestant, had not she put her helping hand to the work, and used her Arms for its defence. She did not less for it in the Low Countries, which in their greatest straits and necessities, received help from her. And also in *France*, the Protestants were often assisted by her victorious Arms, and through her means upheld against their violent Enemies. And withal, let them remember with what success she stopt the Popes Champion by her arms, and consequently made Popery contract its bounds. Can the Romish Religion shew such a Prince, or such a woman? The Catholick King *Philip* her contemporary, and great Enemy, was without doubt a wise and excellent Prince: *Spain* hath had none that could out-go him for an able King; and yet if we

compare

compare him with this Princess, he will be found to be inferiour to her; as in some other respects, so likewise in the success and happy conduct of Arms; for as he headed the Roman Catholick, so she the Protestant party, but with the better success. The Low Countries chiefly by her assistance were wrested out of his hands. And if in *France*, *Henry* the great plaid the Barber with him (as *Bocalini* wittily will have it) she held a Bason of hot water. And *Henry* himself acknowledged in his Letters, that he held his Crown by her assistance. *Cambden.*

But where can it be shewn, that any Prince under the obedience of *Rome*, in so short a time hath made such acquests by Arms, as the English of late have done? Or which is more to the purpose, which of those English Princes, that were Papists, conquered more considerable territories then of late the English have wone?

CHAP. IX.

Of the present condition of the English Church.

NO Religion more strictly requireth Union, and Charity, and Peace, then the Christian; and yet till this comes to be introduced, never were so many bitter contentions known in the World, or so much as a War of Religion. There were Wars indeed before undertaken against those that were impious and abused the gods, as the *Trojan*, and that of *Pharsalia*, but never (as I take it) against any for worshiping God in a different way, how strange soever. The holy Scriptures teach us, that the ever blessed Son of God shed his blood to unite men one to another, as well as to reconcile them to God, and yet they had rather die, then lay down their animosities, and become of one mind. Our Saviour, as soon as he was ascended into Heaven, beheld strayings and dividings amongst that yet small flock, that made up his Church; and his Apostles scarce writ an Epistle to any Church, which they did not blame for this offence. And this hath been the case of the Church continually ever since. At this day we see the Roman Church wholy separated from the Protestant, and little or no hope

hope left of any manner of agreement between them: Withal, the Roman Church within it self hath no small fractions; And it were to be wished that other Protestant Churches had not their dissenting parties also, as well as *England*.

It was not long since that the English Church could boast of its union, and indeed had but few divisions in it, and those not considerable; but alas, now is it cruelly afflicted with several Heresies and Schisms. Notwithstanding the condition thereof is not as yet desperate.

For we may say that the generality of the people are not onely firm to the fundamentals of Religion, but also sensible of the sad condition of the Church, and not a little troubled about it. The number and factions of those, that maintain opinions destructive to the fundamentals, or that are dangerous to Religion, being so mightily divided amongst themselves, as never to be peeced together, cannot be lookt on as an united strength; and yet if they were such, those that stand firm to Religion do by far out-number them, and appear a body so strong, that they give no small hope in Gods good time, of wholy reducing the others. Heresies and Schisms, have their periods, and the very present condition of the Church, hath already begun to introduce amongst the most religious and ingenuous sort of men, *A general and comprehensive spirit, which hath arms of love ready to receive and cherish*

those weak Brethren, whose infirmities have not carried them so far out of the way of truth, as to be out of the reach of a Christian charity. Reason teacheth (this I take out of the great *Verulam*) *that in ignorance, and implyed belief, it is easie to agree, as colours in the dark; or if any Country declines into Atheism, then controversies wax dainty, because men do think Religion scarce worth the falling out for: so it is weak divinity to account controversies an ill sign in the Church.* Again, no opinions destructive to the fundamentals of Religion or Godliness, are tolerated by authority: And this (say some) as it is agreeable to Christian Religion, so doth it conduce to the increase and prosperity of the Commonwealth, as may be seen in the Low Countries. I notwithstanding dare say this, that the Religion of a Nation being always its highest concernment, and that which if regarded hath heaven and all good men its friends, and layeth the strongest obligation on a people (when nothing else can) to be obedient to Government, will, no doubt, be the greatest care of the wisest Statesmen, and Patriots, who are always studiously intent how to maintain it, in intire peace and settlement at home, and in great esteem amongst the people; for (as *Strada*) *Quoties mota est sacra hac anchora, toties fluctuaverit reipublicæ navis*: if therefore they cannot quite banish these divisions in Religion, yet they will endeavor to lay them asleep, and lessen them, as those which do not more blemish Religion, then prejudice the Com-

Commonwealth. *The rest we are to leave to God.*

Having said thus much of the schisms and divisions that are amongst us, which I leave wholy to better judgments, either to take up, or reject, as they shall think fit, I come now to speak of the present condition of the Church, in respect of the advantages thereof.

And here in the first place I dare affirm that in this divided and afflicted Church, there are multitudes of truly pious and religious persons, and that God is heartily worshipped by innumerable devout souls, to the well-pleasing of his divine Majesty. The Word and Sacraments are in great veneration amongst a considerable number of men. The Lords Day is more strictly observed by the English, then by any other foreign Church, either Popish or Protestant, and the prophanation of it more severely punished.

The Clergy are industrious and painful. Certainly *England* yet excels in practical Divines. *The double praise* (saith Bishop *Hall*) *that of old was given to two great Nations; That Italy could not be put down for Arms, nor Greece for learning, is happily met in one Island.* But without doubt, of all sorts of Learning the English excel in *that highest art of Preaching well.* It hath been observed by some very learned men, *That were there a collection of the Sermons of our choicer Divines, since the beginning of Queen* Elizabeths *time, leaving out something of the co-*

L. Bacon.
D. Hackwel.

pious uses of application, it would be the excellentest peece since the Apostles times. Again, though such vast Revenues have been taken away from the Church through the iniquity of the times; As first, in *Henry* the Eighths time, Monasteries, Priories and other Religious Houses; and in our days, Bishops, Deans and Chapters Lands; yet our Preaching Ministers are better provided for, then any other in foreign parts. Dr. *Heylin* is of opinion, that *our Vicaridges, setting aside the Rectories, and other kind of maintenance, are of more value then the Livings of any other preaching Clergy in the world.*

And if we pass further, and enquire how the poor are provided for, their case is thus; Innumerable Hospitals and Alms-houses, are endowed for the releif of such, as are fit objects of charity. And every Parish is to maintain its poor by a common contribution; but for such as are able to get their living by labour, Work-houses are provided. And to save sturdy and incorrigible Beggers from the Gallows, there are Plantations enough, to which they may be sent.

Lastly, For the two Universities of *England*, their Revenues put together would buy half of the other Universities of Europe, and for order and Learning give place to none. *Non habent Academiæ Anglicanæ pares nisi seipsas.* These two Nurseries, have sent forth those that excelled in all sorts of literature. They have brought forth a brave Race of men, that in number exceed, and for worth out-shine the very stars

of

of Heaven. But take the commendation of the Universities in the words of a learned Doctor. *Enimvero* (saith he) *hic & illic quot collegia, tot virtutis & eruditionis seminaria; quot Cathredræ Theologicæ, tot veritatis propugnacula; quot oratoria, tot officinæ pietatis; quot fere musæa, tot incudes bonæ mentis.* *Dr. Arrowsmith prima oratio Antiweigeliana.*

CHAP. X.

Of the Interest of England.

It is a fixt and eternal Maxime of State, that nothing conduceth more to the Peace and prosperity of a Nation, then to maintain the Religion thereof in its purity, and an exact veneration. Of this sense was even *Machiavel*, who affirms, that *those Princes or Republicks which would keep themselves from ruine, are above all things to preserve the rights of their Religion uncorrupt, and maintain it always venerable.* He adds, that *there is no greater signe of a Countries destruction, then to see in it a contempt of Divine worship.* Certainly, Great *Cyrus* laid not the foundation of the Persian Monarchy, so much by his valour or wisdom, as a religious worshipping of Heaven, and a liberality, (if I may so express it) even to profusion in the service thereof. This was that, that did aggrandise *Alexander* the founder of the Macedonian Empire: Nor did Rome attain to be Mistress of the whole World, but by being zealous and sincere in its Religion. *Cicero* acknowledgeth this in the following words, *Nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Panos, nec artibus Graecos; nec denique hoc ipso hujus Gentis & terrae domestico nativoq; sensu Italos ipsos & Latinos, sed pietate, ac Religione, atq; hac unâ sapientiâ, quod Deorum immortalium numine, omnia*

Mach. dis. ca 12.

Zenoph.

Plutar. Lives.

omnia regi, gubernariq; perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesq; superavimus. If *Rome* out-went all other States in Grandure, it out-went them also in a noble regard of Religion. 'Tis certain, Religion was mightily reverenced in it. It was the emulation of the people, Souldiers, Captains and Senate. To be religious and pious was there the way to be great. And hence it was, that in many Ages the Romans made not an unworthy choice of a Publick Commander or Officer. Besides, the strict Discipline of Vertue, which they maintained amongst themselves, they were generous observers of Gallantry and generosity, even towards their Enemies, and sometimes made acquests in War, meerly by their Justice and noble Actions, as over the *Falisci* and *Pyrrhus*. Before the taking of *Rome* by the Gaules, Religion indeed began to be neglected, and vice and irreligion were entring their City, but this had almost cost them them their Empire. *Camillus* speaking of the taking thereof by the Gaules, gives the Romans from the passages of that War, this Religious admonition, *Intuemini horum deinceps annorum vel secundas res, vel adversas,* Liv. 5. *invenietis omnia prospera evenisse sequentibus Deos, adversa spernentibus.* I will add but one example more, and that is taken out of *Comines*: He being sent Ambassador to *Venice* on an important occasion from the French King, Comines l. 8. c. 12. and having delivered his Message, the Senate, before they would return an Answer, caused for three dayes general Processions, and publick sermons to be made, and dealt great Alms, desiring

ſiring God of his grace to direct them in the wiſeſt courſe, which manner of proceeding the ſame Author ſaith (as he was informed) they uſed ordinarily in ſuch like Caſes; wherefore he confeſſed, *that this City ſeemed to him the moſt devout, as touching matter of Religion, that ever he came in, and their Churches the beſt decked and trimm'd, ſo that herein he counted them equal with the ancient Romans, and was perſwaded, that thereof did ſpring the greatneſs of their ſignewry, which ſure was* (as he adds) *worthy rather to increaſe then diminiſh.*

There cannot be a ſurer way to make a State happy, then a care of Religion, which cauſeth good orders, and good orders bring good fortune. A fool, if he will tread in the wayes of Religion and Holineſs, cannot err. This the Prophet *Iſaiah* maketh clear: *And an high way ſhall be there* (ſaith he) *and it ſhall be called the way of Holineſs, the unclean ſhall not paſs over it, but it ſhall be for thoſe: The way-faring men, though fools ſhall not err therein.* And on the other ſide, *Balaam* hired to procure the ruine of *Iſrael*, could not deviſe a more pernitious Counſel, then to make *Iſrael* to ſin. And now ſince ſucceſs, and ſafety are the lot of thoſe that are carefull of their Religion, but deſtruction and ruine of thoſe that neglect it, Religion will appear the higheſt and chiefeſt concernment of every State.

Iſa 35.8.

But becauſe a more particular advantage and benefit attends our Nation, if it regard Religion; and on the other ſide a more certain and unavoidable ruine if they ſlight it, it is

their

their intereſt after a more ſpecial manner, to advance their Religion, and this I look on, as inferiour to no prerogative which *England* enjoyes.

The Religion generally profeſt in *England* is the Proteſtant; to which the continual practiſes of the Papiſts, as well as their Tenents (for I intend in the firſt place to ſhew the danger which threatens the Nation, if the profeſt Religion be not maintained againſt the underminers thereof) have ſufficiently manifeſted them to the world to be implacable Enemies. For *Rome* depoſeth Princes, diſchargeth Subjects from their allegeance, and in a tranſcendent ſtrain of Power, diſpoſeth Heretical States to the ambitious and potent followers thereof. That Sea reſts not here, it hath boldly declared in the face of the world, the Proteſtants to be Hereticks, and as ſuch, on opportunity perſecuted them with fire and ſword. But amongſt all Proteſtant States, againſt which of them hath *Rome* ſo often put in ure theſe her practiſes, as againſt *England*? How often hath the Pope excommunicated our Princes, declared them incapable of the Government, and abſolved the people from their obedience? In particular, how many ſeveral times was that glorious life of Queen *Elizabeth* attempted by villanous aſſaſſines, ſet on work by the zeal of the Jeſuites and Romiſh Prieſts? And how conſtantly have theſe kinde of men diſturbed the peace of the Nation? Once they deſigned to deſtroy the King, the Nobility and People ſitting in Parliament, and at one blow attempted to have

Anglica conjuratio Barclaij.

have overthrown the whole frame of Government, and sacrificed to their insatiable malice and hatred thirty thousand souls; for as *Barclay* reports, it was not to be doubted, but *that more then that number had perished, if the plot had taken.* The shame and frustration of this Plot, did not make these restless Enemies desist. They have since taken all manner of shapes, appeared in more various forms then ever *Proteus* did, and all this to ruine *England.* These are the persons who are accused, and not unjustly in my opinion, for practising on the ill humors and divisions of the State, till at last they had fomented them to such a heighth, as cast it into the late Civil Wars, in which they have been discovered to act on both sides. And at this day, *Rome* nourisheth Seminaries of English youth, who being first tutored under a strict discipline, are afterwards sent into our bowels to propagate their seditious Doctrines, and set on foot all manner of strange Errours in Religion, such also which they themselves do not own. And what War can be more cruel, more bitter then this, which *Rome* prosecutes *England* with? Those Armies indeed, that it sends out, consist of Church-men. Their weapon is but a little member, the tongue. But in this quarrel souls, not carkasses fall. *Herbert* very rightly sung of the Pope;

Therefore

Therefore he sent out able Ministers,
Statesmen within, without doors Cloisterers:
Who without Spear or Sword, or other Drum
Then what was in their tongue, did overcome;
And having conquered did so strangly rule,
That the whole world did seem but the Popes Mule.

It is impossible for *Rome* by open Arms to prevail so much, as in this Clandestine way. And yet the Papal Arms can be no longer kept off, then till the advantage be gained by the Papists

England indeed hath for a long time been troubled with Phlegme, and tamely and patiently suffered the unworthy practises of the Romish See. It hath without any manner of opposition beheld its bowels torn in pieces by the unwearied Enemies thereof. But it cannot alwayes be so. The time shall come, which shall see these injuries sufficiently resented. That day shall behold *England* by more noble and open wayes, and by just Arms, beat them out of their unjust Arts and foul play. Were the English put on such a design, their resentments joyned to their courage, would make them break through those great difficulties and mighty obstacles which lie in the way. And can we hope to be freed from these seditions and evils which *Rome* daily pours on us, till by Arms the Protestant States have beaten down the walls of *Rome*, and those other dens from whence these mischiefs swarm, and till they have cut off the evils at the very root? For

Rome

Rome of its own accord will never deveſt it ſelf of its ambition, unjuſt pretences, deſtructive zeal, immenſe power, and cruel hatred. It hath already choſen rather to loſe whole Kingdoms and Provinces, then abate the leaſt inch of its grandure and exorbitancy, and with *Rehoboam*, had rather part with ten of the Tribes, then recede the leaſt from its pretences, though never ſo unreaſonable. Certainly, how ardently ſoever it be deſired, *Rome* doth not intend any ſuch thing, as the Reformation of it ſelf, or the quietneſs of others; but will neceſſitate, and force us at laſt to Arms, if we will live in Peace. *Et Pia arma, quibus nulla niſi in armis relinquitur ſpes.*

The very Peace of the Nation depends on the ſuppreſſing of this Faction, and withal, there is not a readier way for the enlarging of Empire, and the increaſe of Dominion, and ſo it brings a more particular benefit to the Nation. For it not only offers the precedency of one of thoſe Factions, which as it were equally divide whole Chriſtendom, but alſo bids fair for the maſtery of the *other, & is as ſure a road to greatneſs and glory, as a gallant and noble minde born for Empires and Lawrels can wiſh for. *This Intereſt of* England (ſaith the Duke of *Rohan*) *Will eſtabliſh a third puiſſance in Chriſtendom.*

* Proteſtant.

*Popiſh

But I ſee nothing to the contrary, but that *England* by far ſurpaſſing any other Proteſtant State in ſituation, ſtrength and riches, and ſo taking the firſt place, when this intereſt ſhall joyn the Proteſtant States together in a

League,

League, may re-establish a second puissance in in Christendom. The same Duke, in an other place, speaking of these courses which Queen *Elizabeth* took to advance the Protestant Profession, saith that she did thereby make known to her Successors, that besides the Interest that the King of *England* hath common with all Princes, he hath yet one particular, which is, that he ought to acquire the advancement of the Protestant Religion, with as much zeal as the King of *Spain* appears Protector of the Catholick. Certainly the keeping close to this interest raised Queen *Elizabeth* to the skies, and made her fame immortal, and will no doubt be a just and lasting monument of glory to those that tread in her steps.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Political Government.

SUch is the wretched ambition of great men, who make the publick good subservient to their lusts, and spoil all other Birds of their warm plumes to adorne their own nests, and on the other side so desperate a sottishness possesseth the generality of men, who like Asses seem onely fit for burthens, that almost the whole world may be divided into the Oppressed and Oppressors. Survey those glorious Countries of *Italy*, *France* and *Spain*; and what truer report can be brought from thence, then this, *Omnes aut captantur, aut captant; aut cadavera quæ lacerantur, aut corvi qui lacerant.* And in other places, how few Governors are there, that mind the good of the people? How few people that seem capable of Liberties and Priviledges? And then how great cause have we to be thankful to the Divine Goodness, which hath constantly bestowed on our *England* (under what frame of Government soever it hath been) Liberties, and Prerogatives, which no other Nation in the World, hath scarce so much as tasted of.

The English have always till within these few years, been governed by Kings, under whom they have enjoyed freedoms, in a manner

ner incompatible with a Monarchy. This Government, before its declination, had attained to *that excellency and perfection*, that it was accounted *the best of its kind*. Of this judgment was *Comines*, who having discoursed of the ill Government of Princes, and of their Oppressions, concludes thus; *To be short, in mine opinion, of all the seigneuries in the world (that I know) the Realm of England is the Country, where the Commonwealth is best governed, the people least oppressed, and the fewest Buildings, and houses destroyed in Civil war, and always the vice of misfortune falleth upon them that be the Authors of the war.*

To make this out, we will consider what it is that makes a Government to excel; and then examine how far the Monarchical Government of *England* came up to that perfection. The cheifest perfection of Government is ordinarily placed in this (which is indeed the true end of all Government) namely that an inviolable peace be maintained amongst the members thereof. Those that have attained the skill of governing a Nation peaceably, and free from sedition, have reached the most laudable Art; according to those verses of *Virgil*;

Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra, (credo equidem,) vivos ducent de marmore vultus; Virgil.
Orabunt causas melius, cœliq; meatus
Describent radio, & surgentia sidera dicent:
Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.
(Hæ tibi erunt artes) pacique imponere morem.
Parcere subjectis, & debellare superbos.

But becauſe there can be no Peace, unleſs War be minded, and cared for; for as in the beſt Government, there will be ſuch evill humors, as will quickly turn into ſedition, were there not a force and power to keep them under; ſo alſo on the other ſide it were to no purpoſe to be free from inward ſedition, if the Government were not ſecured and guarded by Arms, againſt outward force; for ambitious neighbours will quickly make a people as miſerable (if not more) then their own ſedition can; I ſhall therefore require this one thing more, to make a Government perfect, (*viz:*) That it ſo intend War, that it may be able not only to keep under all ſeditious ſpirits, but alſo repel invaſions, and on occaſion, be capable of inlarging its Empire.

As to the firſt excellency, the Monarchical Government of *England*, had fully attained it. And in this reſpect, no other Monarchy (as I take it) came up to it. We will conſider peace here, as Domeſtick and as Provincial. And firſt for Domeſtick, This may be ſaid of the Saxon Monarchy, that ſo excellent was its Policy, and ſo wiſe its proceedings, that not ſo much as one ſedition (if you will take this word in a favourable ſenſe) was heard of under that Government. *Cook* (on *Littleton*) obſerves that before the Conqueſt, you ſhall not read of any Rebellion, when the view of *Franck-Pledge*, and other antient Laws of *England* were in force. Since the Conqueſt indeed, the Norman Monarchy hath been afflicted frequently, with Civil Wars, and

and ſeditions, and cannot lay claim to this perfection.

Again, as to Provincial Peace, the Engliſh Monarchy hath not been unfortunate in reducing, and keeping under by good Government, thoſe Provinces which it hath conquered. The Engliſh Kings won *Wales* and *Ireland* by Arms, and governed them with ſuch moderation and wiſedom, granting them naturalization, and all other Priviledges, that they ſeemed to be perfectly ingrafted into one Body with *England*. And though *Ireland* hath ſeveral times rebelled, yet at this day it is in abſolute ſubjection to *England*, which muſt be imputed much to the policy of our Monarchs. *Jerſey* and *Gernſey* French Iſles (formerly conquered) to this day abide firm to *England*. And when heretofore the French have invaded them, the Iſlanders with their own forces have again beaten them out, by far preferring the Engliſh Rule. It is alſo worthy of obſervation, that *Gaſcoine* ſeparated from this Iſle by the Sea, of another Language and original, was held by the Engliſh for Three hundred years, meerly by reaſon of their good Government, notwithſtanding all the power of the French, who being their Country-men, and withal potent, left undone nothing to bring it over to their Dominion.

In the next place, I am to conſider the Military part of the Monarchical Government, a Point, as it is very conſiderable, ſo is it no leſs pleaſant, and therefore I ſhall crave leave to inſiſt a little longer on it.

That Government that is continually mindful of War, and provides for it at all times, must needs prosper and enjoy many other blessings as accessories. And so the Romans and Turks, that constantly kept their swords drawn, have made mighty and large acquests. That Gentleman spoke a truth who said, that *he which had the longest sword, should be the wisest man, and dis-inherit his neighbours for fools.* At least this advantage will redound to a State which is always armed, that it shall live the quieter, and by the bare reputation of a veteran Army, or of its military Discipline, create more peaceable thoughts in their neighbors, according to the proverb, *One Sword keeps another in its sheath.* On the other side, a Government that neglects War, is insecure in all its parts, and a prey for him that dares attempt it. Even when peace is too studiously endeavoured, the greatest enemies of a State, Vice and Ease, are thereby cherished, and it shall sooner be undone by such a course, then if all the world were in Arms against it. No man will deny, but that our *England* having enjoyed in its two last Kings Reigns a deep peace, run the greatest hazard since it was a Nation. The great Politician thought *War the most necessary care of his Prince*, and laid him down this lesson, *That he should have no other aim, thought or art then War.* And of this sence was *Cicero*, who saith. *Ac nimirum dicendum est, quod sentio. Virtus militaris præstat cæteris omnibus.* We read in the holy Scriptures, that the most glorious times of the Israelites, were ushered and brought in by some

Machiave'.

some great Captain, and that when God raised up to his people of old a Deliverer and a Captain, the same man did not onely execute the office of a Captain, but when the Wars were ended, performed the function of a Judge, and was so called. And without doubt all histories will assure us that the Souldier administers the Government most to the renown and glory of a people. The advice of *Jethro* to his Son in Law *Moses*, serves to our purpose, *Thou shalt provide thee out of the people men of truth, hating covetousness, and place such over them to be Rulers of thousands, & Rulers of hundreds, Rulers of fifties, and Rulers of tens.* If these commands were military, as they seem to sound, then this wise Prince thought none more fit to be Magistrates then Souldiers, and that *that man who could lead one a Thousand to the Wars, could as well govern that Thousand in time of peace, and administer Justice to them.* In a word, in this world a people hold whatever they possess meerly by the Sword, and their Courage, and when they forgo the care of Arms, they take the readiest course to lose all their other enjoyments, and make themselves the most wretched people.

And if *England* hath been more happy then other Nations, and enjoyed glorious times, this came to pass in mine opinion, because they have been considerable in Arms. Sir *Tho. Smith* will say, *That our Princes and Legislators have nourished their people to make them stout-hearted, couragious, and Souldiers*; AND THIS IS THE SCOPE OF ALMOST ALL OUR POLICY. I will set down here some particulars to

illustrate this, and those which I will draw out of the times, in which Monarchy did flourish. Under the Saxons, it was an antient custom that on one and the same day there should be a general muster over the whole Nation, that so every man at the same time should shew himself armed; and that as no man was to be excused from Arms, so every man might appear with his proper weapons, and not borrow one of another. And so highly had our Ancestors raised the reputation of Arms, that (when at every Wapentake, several Towns did muster) he that could not finde Sureties for his good behaviour and carriage, had his Arms taken from him; *That renowned age, wisely judging, a dissolute and wicked person unworthy to bear Arms, and the taking away thereof the highest punishment.* Nor is it to be past over without a remark, that our Ancestors were not onely careful to provide for War, but also were regardful of the inward peace and tranquillity of the Kingdom, which is subverted by nothing so much, as evil customs and dissolute lives. The Law under our Monarchs maintained *propriety the mother of Courage, and husbandry the warlikest profession.* It inriched the Subject, and bestowed on him Liberty, and large priviledges (and what not?) that might conduce to make him couragious.

Juvenal. *Quis numerare queat felicis præmia nostræ*
Militiæ? ——————

The very divisions of our Nation, like those of

of the Iſraelites, ſound Military, as *into Hundreds and Tithings*. The Law allowed no *recreation, or exerciſe but what was Military, as ſhooting*. It puniſhed a *recreant, and coward in a Writ of Right with Infamy, and did not allow him* liberam legem. I enumerate no more particulars here, but conclude with an obſervation of *Machiavel*, concerning the care that our Kings have had of War. He in his diſcourſes lookt on the Expedition of *Henry* the ſeventh into *France* as a bold and daring Action; for he relates that the *Engliſh* had been in peace *for thirty years before*, and that *France then was furniſhed with great Captains and good Armies, which had continually been bred up in the Wars of Italy*: Hereupon he concludes, that *this happened from this, that that King* (namely, *Henry* the Seventh) *was wiſe, and the Kingdom well governed, and which in peace neglected not Military Diſcipline*. Anſwerable to the care for War, and the Military diſcipline of this Government, was the ſucceſs, which in former Chapters having been ſufficiently inſiſted on, needs not again be mentioned here. Thus much for the Military and peaceable government of the Engliſh Monarchy, to which I ſhall onely add this, that though ſince the Conqueſt it hath been afflicted with ſeditions and civil broils, yet it was accounted one of the excellenteſt Monarchies of the world. Under Kings the Engliſh have been renowned in Wars, and victorious over other Nations; they have alſo been happy in peaceable times, nor can they wiſh to be more glorious hereafter, then they have been at ſometimes under their Monarchs.

Cook on Littleton.

We have done this right to our Monarchy, we are now to say something of that Government that succeeded it: I confess it was never setled, nor absolutly put into the hands of the people. And yet if you respect its infancy and beginning, it outwent in warlike Atchievements all other Common-wealths. I lay before me the exploits of *Sparta*, *Athens*, *Carthage*, and *Venice*: And know that the Venetians, Switzers and United Provinces, at this day being contemptible for Territories, are those onely that appear fittest matches for the greatest Empires, as namely the Turk, the German and the Spanish house of *Austria*, which Monarchs had overborn large Kingdoms and Provinces, and could meet none able to measure Swords with them, till these little Countries having vindicated their liberty, took them in hand, and not so much by their valour (for *Venice* was never celebrated for valour, and the United Provinces had no extraordinary name for it) but by the excellency of their Government, and prudent carriage have been able to force them to become peaceable and quiet neighbours, and keep themselves within narrower bounds, then otherwise they would willingly have done. I know also *Rome, the onely Mistress of the World*, was justly celebrated for large Conquests. And yet none of these States gave such starts, and made such acquests at their rise as our English Common-wealth. Certainly, so many advantages conduced to its greatness and increase, and at its first appearing, so large were its proper Territories,

tories, that it may well be affirmed, never was a Common-wealth in that respect laid on so large and strong a foundation as that then had; and if in our conceits, we should give it an answerable growth, we could not assign it less than the whole world at last for its portion.

At first, if you will judge by the affections of the people, it had not the hundredth part of *England* it self, and was to go through difficulties that would have confounded any but a free State. But how quickly had it brought the Nation to somewhat better understanding, and a fair way of settlement? so that there are some, that question, whether any natural Prince of *England* had ever been assisted on any occasion, with so great Forces, so suddenly, and with such alacrity raised, as that was at *Worcester*? And on the other side, how few went over to the King of the Scots, though looked on as a rightful Prince, deserves consideration.

It lived not *out a Lustre*, yet conquered *Scotland*, *Ireland*, and several other smaller Islands, made other Nations feel its force, as the French and Portugals, and was going on in such a Careire of Action, as was not to be stopt by a humane power. This Government began a War with the Dutch, which it had ended with absolute conquest, or faln in the Attempt, and after this probably it would have entered on more honorable Enterprises, & not suffered the Nation to grow effeminate by ease and vice. In a word, it had brought in an instant, the Nation to a full glory, and such a splendor, as cast a darkness (as is affirmed by some) on the greatest

Actions

Actions of former times. This is certain, that the neighbouring States trembled at its sudden and prodigious greatness, and remote Potentates did court and seek a good understanding from its hands, and its dissolution brought no ordinary content to those that had cause to fear it. The Agent of the *Stuarts* (as a late Writer reports) at the first appearance of this Free-State, urged the United Provinces, *That if* England *were free, it would be formidable to them, not onely by interrupting their fishing, and all other maritime advantages, but by robbing them of Traffick, as they had done the Venetians, and not onely so, but give Law to all Christendom, by reason of the Commodiousness of its Harbors and multitudes of its Ships.*

This Common-weath, how imperfect soever in it self, was yet too strong in all likelyhood for any humane power or strength to break. *It was onely capable of being ruined by God and it self.*

It was indeed quickly dissolved and gone, yet had it this to boast of, that having all long attempted the boldest enterprises, and set on the most difficult exploits, it met with no ill success in any of its great undertakings, while it was in being. But

——— *latis hunc numina rebus,*
Crescendi posuere modum ———

Where is the stability of humane glory? Who now will not believe that the firmest, the most

moſt ſplendid, and moſt illuſtrious Fabrick that is humane, is capable of diſſolution? God in whoſe hands all Nations are but as clay in the hands of a Potter, and to whom the ſtrongeſt and proudeſt Governments are as contemptible, as the loweſt and meaneſt, (if not more) undertook this Common-wealth, and laid it in the duſt, with thoſe other glorious States of *Rome*, *Athens*, *Sparta*, and *Carthage*.

——Valet ima ſummis
Mutare, & inſignem attenuat Deus
Obſcura promens.—— *Hor. od. 37. l. 1.*

I will make no Apology for what I have delivered of this Government, for as I think, I have ſpoken the truth, and that moderately, having rejected much matter that offered it ſelf to my hands on this occaſion. I never received any particular advantage by that Government, nor ſo much as ſubſcribed the Engagement, and therefore I thought I might with the greater Freedom and ingenuity ſay thus much of it, which yet I ſubmit to better judgements.

It remains now, that I ſhould ſpeak ſomething of the preſent Government, But the Petition of Advice coming out ſince I had finiſhed this Diſcourſe, I am forced to put it off, till I ſhall have another opportunity; which (if ever it happen) I ſhall God aſſiſting cheerfully ſet on it, and in a more particular manner diſcourſe thereof.

CHAP.

CHAP. XII.

Of the English Law.

WHen the Laws of *Aristotle* are found to be unnatural and unchaft; *Plato's* impious and dishonest, those of *Lycurgus* unreasonable and irreligious, and *Solons* unjust and absurd: no wonder then, if the refined wits of this curious Age have discovered some Errours and Inconveniences in our English Law. 'Tis confest, they are humane, and have their imperfections, which yet like the spots in the Moon, are not discernable amidst the Lustre of their other Excellencies. Others of late have sufficiently made discoveries of the grievances of the Law, it now falls to my task to speak somewhat of its advantages.

The Law of *England* (I shall speak onely of the municipal Law of the Nation, and not meddle at all with the Civil Law, (though of some use amongst us,) but leave it to others better able then my self, to set out the Excellencies thereof) admits of this threefold division: Common-Law, which is the general Custom of the Nation, agreeable to reason; Customary-Law, grounded on the usages of some particular parts and members of the Nation; and lastly, Statute-Law, the result of the whole people.

I begin with the Common-Law, and shall chuse here for the most part rather to give you the very words of the Lawyers themselves, than mine own. This Law (saith the Lord *Cook*) is reason it self, which must be understood of *an Artificial perfection*, gotten by

by long ſtudy, obſervation and experience, and not of any mans natural Reaſon. The ſame Author will tell you, *that if all the Reaſon that is diſperſed into ſo many ſeveral heads were united in one, yet could he not make ſuch a Law as the Law of* England *is, becauſe by many ſucceſſions of Ages, it hath been refined by an infinite number of grave and learned men, and by long experience grown to ſuch a perfection for the Government of this Realm, as the old Rule may be juſtly verified of it, Neminem ſapientiorem legibus oportet eſſe.* Sir *John Davis* pronounceth this Law, *the moſt perfect, and moſt excellent, and without compariſon, the beſt to make and preſerve a Common-wealth.* He gives this reaſon, *that the written Laws, which are made either by the Edicts of Princes, or by Councils of Eſtate are impoſed upon the Subject, before any trial or probation, whether they ſhall be fit and agreeable to the nature and diſpoſition of the people, or whether they will breed any inconvenience or no, but a Cuſtom* (which the Law of *England* is) *doth never become a Law to binde a people, until it hath been tried and approved time out of mind, during all which time, there did ariſe no inconvenience, for if it had been found inconvenient at any time, it had been uſed no longer, but had been interrupted, and conſequently loſt the vertue and force of a Law.* This Law ſpringing from the general uſage of the people, and agreeing to ſound reaſon, and being, as it were onely written in the hearts of the people, cometh neareſt the Law of Nature, the beſt of all others, and which alſo is an unwritten one. The allowed books, that are written of

the

the Law, are (as the Lawyers will affirm) the the most exact, that have been made in any humane Science. The chief book, is *Littleton*, of which his Commentator, the Lord *Cook* saith, that it is the Ornament of the Common-Law, *the most perfect and absolute work* that ever was; nay, he doth not stick to profess, that it is a work of *an absolute perfection in its kinde, and as free from errour as any book he had known, nor could he finde any judgement given against any one of his Cases.* The other Law-books, especially the learned Commentaries of *Plowden*, and the Year-books, are very polite and judicious, and full of strong and sound Reason. For amongst that multitude of Cases reported, the number of those that have been called in question, have not been very many. It was the observation of Sir *John Davis*, that the Common Law hath arrived to that perfection, that when by Statute any part of it hath been altered, yet at last some succeeding Parliament or other, hath for the most part put it in its old Channel again. Withall, there are more doubts which arise on our Statute-Law, then the Common.

The Customary-Law of *England*, is in the next place to be spoken of. The particular Customs of *England*, as they are many, so are they very ancient. Judge *Fortescue* affirms, that they have been kept and observed with reverence in the times of the five several Nations that have possest this Land, and are ancienter then the Civil Laws of *Rome*. But this (as it is thought) is too far fetch'd. The Saxons, our Ancestors probably were they that introduced them,

them, and not the Britains, who at the Romans entrance into the Land, were too barbarous (as some will have it) to have such excellent Customs amongst them, and after they were reduced to a Province, were governed by the Laws of *Rome*. However, these Customs do evidence in what a milde and gentle way the English are governed, *in that they are ruled by their own Customs and Usages, and without justly commend a people, whose Customs and Usages have in all Ages been so just and commendable.*

In the last place, He that shall observe, by whom, and with what care, and in what order, Statute-Laws are made in *England*, and withal take but the pains to examine the Statutes, will acknowledge, not onely the manner of making them, but also the Statutes themselves to be excellent. The whole world cannot shew a like Charter to our *Magna Charta*. Besides, there was hardly that Kings Reign, that did not afford Statutes for the welfare and liberty of the people; nor a Parliament which did not enlarge their liberties, and procuce for them Laws conducing to their benefit and good.

So that now the judgement of our great Chancellor will appear not immodest, that our Laws, with some reducement, were worthy to govern the whole world. So excellent did they appear abroad, that the best Laws that the Parliaments of *Paris* and *Rourdeaux* now have, were extracted out of the English. And if they had not been good, they could never have outlived the two Conquests of the Danes and Normans. *Bacon.*

Normans. The Dane, when he was Lord of this Isle, was so far from altering the English Law, that he made a good part of it, Current in his other Dominions. And the Norman himself confirmed it; for though he made it speak French, and innovated in some other matters, yet the same body of Law remained then in force. His alterations in it, as Sir *John Davis* observes, were onely *in formis*.

Philosophers do require to the well governing of a State, not onely, that good Laws be made, but also that excellent Customs be introduced to back them. Our Governours have taken a better course in my opinion: *for they have constantly observed the good Customs of the people, and made them their Laws*; so that I may call the Law of *England*, *The better Genius of the English*.

And if besides these, the English are ruled by any other kinde of Laws, they are such as are made by themselves, who have alwayes not onely pretended to, but also enjoyed Liberty. And then *Machiavell* will tell you, *that it is seldoms seen, that the desires of a free people tend to the hurt of Liberty.*

No particular man can vaunt, he was the Law-giver to the English: Nor as Sir *John Davis* observes, *did our Laws spring from* Greece *or* Rome; *but our Ancestors have made them out of their wisdom and experience. Long experience, and many trials of what was best, made the Common-Law.* And in my judgement, it is a greater commendation to a people, *that the whole Nation is wise, and capable to make*

good

good Laws, then that one man onely is so, and that continually it hath been so, then but once, or at certain times.

But that I may descend more particularly to set out the Excellency of the Law, I shall here observe, that in all suits, the point in controversie must either be matter of Law, or matter of Fact. I shall endeavour to shew what course the Law takes to decide either of them.

And first for the deciding of matter of Law, this belongs to the Judges of the several Courts, who in discussing those Cases that are before them, take in the reason and experience of former Ages, which cannot chuse but make their judgement more perfect. And yet they are not as the Civilians, led by every private head, and glosses of Lawyers, but rather by the judgements and results of the gravest Sages of the Law, after the most serious debate, and learned Arguments. And though Cases adjudged do sway much with them, yet the reason of those Cases more then the President is weighed. They to their own reason, add that of former times, and having brought the business as well to the test of the one, as the other, they then proceed to judgement. And then this way (if we will beleeve the Lawyers) nothing can be more certain. In particular, Sir *John Davis* saith, that no Law is more certain in its Rules and Maximes, or hath more coherence in the parts thereof, or harmony in the reason of it. The paucity of those Cases that differ and

vary among themselves, do speak the certainty of it, and when there hath happened such variance, the time might alter the reason thereof. And which is very considerable, in the time of the Lord *Cook*, there was not so much as two questions moved in any Court of Justice in *England*, touching the right of Discents or Escheats, or the like fundamental Points of the Common-Law, so certain, sure, and without question, are the fundamental Principles and Grounds thereof. Again, he that considers that there is not one business in controversie to a thousand, that is matter of Law, will confess, there is a certainty in the Law, at least, that it doth not multiply and create Suits. *Davis.* There are but a very few demurrers, or special verdicts, which respect matter of Law. And of those demurrers, and special verdicts that fall out, there are but a very small number that are not determined and adjudged at the first opening. *Heylin.* Besides, all Causes for the whole Nation, are determined within the compass of *Westminster*-Hall, and to that purpose but a third part of the year allotted, and in that time the Courts are not over-busie, (I might say) scarce imployed half the time, whereas every Province of *France* is full of Courts for dispatch of Law Suits. *Bodin*, that Country-man, saith, that there are more Suits depending in *France* then in all *Europe* besides.

I have spoken of the first thing, (matter of Law) I am now to shew how matters of Fact, (which indeed comprehend almost all manner of

of controversies amongst us) are decided: and this is by a Jury: A course (I think) not to be paralelled. Besides the Oath of Witnesses, a Jury of twelve men of the neighbourhood are to deliver their conscience of the whole matter to the Judges, which is called a verdict, according to which verdict, judgement is awarded. The Parties to the Suits have not onely liberty of Exception against the Jury, but besides, if the Jury give a false verdict, they receive judgment of perpetual infamy, they forfeit their Goods and Chattels, their Lands and Tenements are seised, their wives and children cast out of doors, their houses demolished, their trees rooted up, and meadows plowed, and their bodies committed to Prison, so that there can hardly be a better way for the deciding of the Truth, and exclusion of corruption. In other Countries they have no such course, or if they did endeavour to introduce it, they could not bring it about; The reason is, because their people are more inslaved and trampled on by the Nobility or richer sort, and so rendred base; nor do they enjoy their goods and lands in any manner of freedom and fitting proportion, so that could it be imagined that those that are inslaved could have free and ingenuous mindes, fit for Judges, yet would it be unreasonable that they should be such, when they have not estates to be punished in, and to answer their miscarriage and perjury, should they be found faulty. *Cook on Littleton.*

In *England* the Law endeavours to keep up noble and free mindes in the people, and doth

not suffer them to be inthralled, that thereby they may be able to serve the publique in any ingenuous imgloyment. But now, in all Countries of *England*, great numbers of the common people are Free-holders, whereby they are accounted fit Judges in all controverſies about matter of fact. And it is obſervable, that a Jury of the common people with us, are not only competent *Judges between private men, but alſo where their Prince is a party.*

In the next place we will now conſider what regard the Law hath to propriety, and the lives of the people. For the firſt, we have this in brief to ſay, the King himſelf though termed Lord and Maſter of the body and goods of his people was onely ſuch to defend them, not to pillage and take them away. Nay, there was not that man, how great ſoever, which might not be impleaded, and brought for the leaſt wrong to anſwer as wellas the meaneſt; the King himſelf might be ſued, ſo that the Law ſeemed to reign above all. Every man by Law here enjoys his own, and diſpoſeth of his Eſtate, as beſt pleaſeth him, which may appear by our Wills, which are made with all liberty aud freedom, *Et jure militari.*

Sir *Tho. Smith* of the Commonw of *Engl.*

And as to the care which the Law hath of the life of every perſon, I ſhall onely ſay thus much, that if the King pardons Murder, notwithſtanding an appeal lies againſt the Murderer. And yet he that is accuſed of the higheſt crime is not rackt to confeſs. The Priſons are not for puniſhment, but cuſtody. The offender ſpeedily comes to trial, without any manacles

or

or irons; and though for Treaſon and Murder, the Law doth not allow any perſon his Advocate to plead for him, becauſe they are offences of ſo high a nature; yet the Court is of Counſel to the Priſoner, and ſuffers nothing to be urged againſt him contrary to the Law, nor himſelf to run into any inconveniencies through his ignorance; and that he might be free to make his juſtification, his Lands are not ſeiſed till he is attainted. He is tried by his neighbors, Twelve men, that are landed and honeſt. After condemnation to die, he is not tormented, or whipt, or put to any other cruel uſage, but in a ſhort time fairly diſpatched of that life which he hath forfeited by Law.

Now it will not be hard to judge of the worth of a Nation by the goodneſs of its Laws; For though good Laws make a good people, yet Laws in ſome meaſure receive a certain fate from the capacity of the people, who if already they are not fitted with good Manners and Cuſtoms, whereby the Law may have its full courſe, muſt be adapted, and made (as it were) capable by agreeable manners. A people may be ſo baſe as not to be capable of the beſt Laws, but ſuch onely as will be ſuitable to their nature; and on the other ſide, a ſlaviſh Law cannot be laid on an ingenuous people. That Nation that hath lived ſeveral hundreds of years under ſuch excellent Laws, as *England* hath, cannot be a baſe people. *What Nation* (ſaith *Moſes* to the Iſraelties) *is ſo great, which hath Statutes and Judgments ſo righteous as I ſet before you this day?* The like queſtion may be asked

the

the English, What Nation is there that hath Statutes and Judgements so righteous as you? What people live so happily under their Law? certainly not the French, nor the Spaniard, nor the Italian, not any other that I can name: Why may I not then put in that other part of the question, in the Text, *what Nation is so great as England?*

The Conclusion.

PUblick good, in its contemplation, yieldeth an elevated, and innobled pleasure, being the more productive of a dilating joy, by how much the more comprehensive it is. This is the ambition of great minds, the happiness of good ones, the glory of all; To see his Nation flourish, be glorious and renowned, is the most eligible fortune that a man can either wish or attain. Methinks every one should hold his share in a publick good by a more honourable tenure, and in a more excellent way, then what he possesses in a private capacity; or rather, he may enjoy a publick good to himself intirely as it were, and yet leave it to be enjoyed as intirely by thousands of others, and at one prospect behold the most heavenly sight, his own felicity and that of many others.

But yet how great and noble a blessing soever publick good is, we see it neglected, undervauled, and even vilified; no observation proveing

ing more true then this, *Sparsa in commune gratia ab omnibus accipitur, redditur à nemine.* Strada. And thus God is least thanked for his greatest and richest mercies; and when men partake of the highest blessings in the publick, they can easily leave the acknowledgement to be made by others, and exempt themselves from the duty, thereby rendring themselves guilty of an ingratitude, though the commonest yet the vilest, and which makes them I know not whether more sinful in the committing it, or miserable in the missing so brave a pleasure, as the contrary would produce.

For my part, I cannot but [illegible] at the conclusion of this discourse, admire and praise the bounty of the Divine Providence to *England*.

I know I am not able in any agreeable way to speak so great praises, or make any acknowledgments at all befitting such transcendent goodness. We can neither duly prize nor weigh the extraordinary favours of God to us, nor so much as number them. They are so great, that we cannot find in any other place what will equal them. All we can do, is to acknowledge our own impotency, and strive to do our utmost: a poor matter for so great receivers. Notwithstanding whatsoever our ability herein is, let us put it out to the utmost, and when we have done that, help it by wishing it greater and larger. Let us joyn with our divine Country-man and cry out.

Herbert. *O that within us hearts had propagation,*
Since many gifts do challenge many hearts,
Yet one, if good, may title to a number,
And single things grow fruitful by desents.

And if after all, we have yet done nothing to the purpose, *Let us fear and tremble before our God, for all that good, and for all that prosperity which he hath procured for us.* Let us lose our selves in an holy admiration of the immenseness of his Mercy, and herein acquiesce, that his own works shall sufficiently magnifie him.

FINIS.